PROCEEDINGS

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OF

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DECEMBER, 1903.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

Donations to the Library 1, 2, 65, 66, 104, 166, 236, 298, 338

Election of Members 2, 66, 104, 166, 236, 298

Notices of Decease of Members 103, 165, 235, 297

No. CLXXXVII. JANUARY.

Secretary's Report for the Year 1902 3–9

Council and Officers for the Year 1903 10

PROF. E. NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*—The Book of the Dead. Chapter CXLIX (*continued*) (*Plate*) 11–14

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E.*, *&c.*—Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible (IV) (*contd.*) 15–22

A. BOISSIER.—Matériaux pour l'Étude de la Religion Assyro-Babylonienne (*continued*)... 23–29

J. OFFORD.—Inscriptions relating to the Jewish War of Vespasian and Titus (*continued*) 30–33

S. A. COOK, *M.A.*—A Pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus (3 *Plates*) 34–56

PROF. E. NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*, Letter from—On the Transliteration of Egyptian 57–61

PROF. A. H. SAYCE.—A Seal-Cylinder from Homs ... 62, 63

DR. E. NESTLE.—The Septuagint Rendering of 2 Kings xix, 26 63

No. CLXXXVIII. FEBRUARY.

PROF. E. NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*—The Book of the Dead. Chapters CXLIX (*continued*) and CL (*Plate*) 67–70

T. G. PINCHES, *LL.D.*—Cylinder-seals belonging to Mr. Rigg (*Plate*) 71–74

A. BOISSIER.—Matériaux pour l'Étude de la Religion Assyro-Babylonienne (*continued*)... 75–81

PAGE

Rev. C. H. W. Johns, *M.A.*—The Chronology of Aš.r-bânipal's Reign (II) 82–89

A Bilingual Charm.—Notes on, by Prof. B. Moritz ... 89

Sir H. H. Howorth, *K.C.I.E.*, *&c.*—Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible (IV) (*contd.*)... 90–98

W. E. Crum.—The Decalogue and Deuteronomy in Coptic 99–101

W. L. Nash, *F.S.A.*—A Relic of Amenhetep III ... 101

The Transliteration of Egyptian—Errata to Prof. Naville's letter 102

No. clxxxix. March.

Prof. E. Naville, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*—The Book of the Dead (*continued*). Chapters CLI, CLIA *bis*, CLII (*Plate*) ... 105–110

Percy E. Newberry.—Discovery of the Tomb of Thothmes IV 111, 112

W. L. Nash, *F.S.A.*—Ha-Mhyt 112

T. G. Pinches, *LL.D.*—Gilgameš and the Hero of the Flood (*Plate*) 113–122

E. J. Pilcher.—The Temple-Inscription of Bod-'Aštar', King of the Sidonians (*Plate*) 123–129

Percy E. Newberry.—Extracts from my Notebooks (VI) (*Plate*) 130–138

Prof. C. C. Torrey.—The Greek Versions of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah 139, 140

Prof. A. H. Sayce, *LL.D.*—The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions 141–156

Prof. E. Naville, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*—The Egyptian Name of Joseph 157–161

Transliteration of Egyptian.—Letter from Prof. Dr. Lieblein 162, 163

No. cxc. April and May.

Prof. E. Naville, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*—The Book of the Dead. Chapter CLIIIA (*Plate*) 167–172

PAGE

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*, *&c.*—The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions (*continued*) 173–194

T. G. PINCHES, *LL.D.*—Gilgameš and the Hero of the Flood (*continued*) 195–201

A. COWLEY, *M.A.*—Some Egyptian Aramaic documents (*Plate*) 202–208

The Transliteration of Egyptian.
- Letter from PROF. DR. JACOB KRALL 209–212
- Letter from PROF. DR. A. WIEDEMANN 212–214

F. W. GREEN.—Notes on an Inscription at el-Kab (2 *Plates*) 215, 216

PERCY E. NEWBERRY.—The Sekhemet Statues of the Temple of Mut, at Karnak 217–221

DR. S. KRAUSS.—Postumus, Prefect of Egypt 222–224

E. J. PILCHER.—The Jews of the Dispersion in Roman Galatia (*Plate*) 225–233

No. CXCI. JUNE.

PROF. E. NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*—The Book of the Dead. Chapters CLIIIB and CLIV (*Plate*) 237–242

PROF. DR. E. REVILLOUT.—Le Procès du Vautour et de la Chatte devant le Soleil... 243–249

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*—Note on the Inscriptions at el-Kab 249

E. J. PILCHER.—The Jews of the Dispersion in Roman Galatia 250–258

A. COWLEY, *M.A.*—Some Egyptian Aramaic Documents (*continued*) 259–266

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*—Gilgameš 266

W. E. CRUM.—Coptic Texts relating to Dioscorus of Alexandria... 267–276

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*, *&c.*—The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions (*continued*) (*Plate*) 277–287

The Transliteration of Egyptian.—Letter of PROF. DR. E. REVILLOUT 288–293

PAGE

PERCY E. NEWBERRY.—Note on the Parentage of Amenhetep III 294–295

No. CXCII. NOVEMBER.

PROF. E. NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*—The Book of the Dead (*continued*). Chapters CLV–CLXI (*Plate*) 299–304

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*, *&c.*—The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions (*continued*) 305–310

A. COWLEY, *M.A.*—Some Egyptian Aramaic Documents (*continued*)... 311–314

Note by PROF. A. H. SAYCE 315–316

E. O. WINSTEDT.—Sahidic Biblical Fragments 317–325

REV. C. H. W. JOHNS.—The Year Names of Samsu-iluna 325, 326

F. G. HILTON-PRICE, *Dir. S.A.*—Upon a Set of Seven Unguent or Perfume Vases (*Plate*) 326–328

The Transliteration of Egyptian.—Letter of PROF. DR. E. REVILLOUT (*continued*) 329–333

A. H. GARDINER.—On the Meaning of the Preposition 334–336

No. CXCIII. DECEMBER.

PROF. E. NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*—The Book of the Dead (*continued*). Chapters CLXII–CLXIV (*Plate*) ... 339–346

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*, *&c.*—The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions (*continued*) 347–356

PERCY E. NEWBERRY.—Extracts from my Notebook (VII) (2 *Plates*) 357–362

The Transliteration of Egyptian.
- Letter from PROF. DR. E. REVILLOUT (*continued*) ... 363–367
- Letter from PROF. VICTOR LORET 368–370

F. GREEN.—Prehistoric Drawings at el-Kab (*Plate*) ... 371, 372

Title Page and Index.

LIST OF PLATES.

PAGE

Book of the Dead (7 *Plates*) 11, 67, 110, 167, 242, 304, 346

A pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus (3 *Plates*) 56

Cylinder-seals belonging to Mr. Rigg 74

Gilgameš and the Hero of the Flood (2 *Plates*)... ... 122

Bod-'Aštart 126

"Extracts from my Notebooks" (3 *Plates*) ... 138, 358, 362

Egyptian Aramaic documents 202

Inscription at el-Kab (2 *Plates*) 215

Bronze coins of Apameia Cibotus 225

Hittite Inscriptions 284

An Unguent or Perfume Vase 326

Prehistoric drawings at el-Kab 371

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1903.

First Meeting, 14th January, 1903.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., &c.,*

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author :—Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann. Das Okapi im alten Aegypten. *Die Umschau.* 13th December, 1902. Frankfort.

From the Author :—Rev. C. Boutflower. Tiglath Pileser, king of Babylon. The key to Isaiah xiii, i to xiv, 27. Part III. *The Churchman*, December, 1902.

From the Author :—Lieut.-General Sir Charles Warren, *G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E.* The Ancient Cubit and other weights and measures. 8vo. Published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1903.

From the Author :—George Fraser. The Early Tombs at Tehneh. *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, T. III, 1902.

From the Author :—Rev. Cesare A. de Cara, *S.J.* Di alcuni criterii incerti nella Paletnologia archeologia e storia antica. *Civiltà Cattolica*, January, 1903.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society :—

The Baron Mallet, 35, Rue Anjou, Paris.
Sir William T. Charley, *K.C.*, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*, Woodbourne, East Grinstead.
Rev. G. Heaton Thomas, *B.A.*, Walm Lane, Willesden Green, N.

The following Paper was read :—

DR. THEO. G. PINCHES : "Gilgameš and the Hero of the Flood,"—the new version.

Remarks were added by the Chairman.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1902.

In submitting to you my twenty-fourth annual report, mention must be again made to the severe losses the Society has suffered from the death of some of its most distinguished members; it has been a sad duty to announce these losses from time to time. I must here refer to CANON RAWLINSON, Vice-President; DR. J. HALL GLADSTONE, F.R.S., Member of the Council; P. J. DE HORRACK, Honorary Member; and H. SYER CUMING.

The number on the roll of Members has, however, been fairly retained; there is still, however, much more that might be done, if a determined effort was made to increase the number. There must be many who would be willing to help if only they were asked. I have many times appealed to the whole body of Members to assist the Society in this manner; I again repeat the appeal, in the hope that it may not be overlooked.

The Papers read before the Society, and printed in this volume, will be found not inferior in value and interest to those of former years, and the best thanks of the Society are due to the many writers who have thus contributed to the success of our meetings and publications.

Those printed in the volume of *Proceedings* for the year 1902 are as follows. Many of them have been fully illustrated, and it will be noted that the suggestion with reference to short notes has been very kindly responded to by a number of the Members. These add very much to the interest of our publications, and I can only hope that it will be possible to print a greater number of notes during the coming year.

The following list has been kindly prepared by Mr. Nash, who has for more than a year acted as the Editor of the *Proceedings*.

The following Papers have appeared in the *Proceedings* during the past Session :—

PROF. SAYCE (*President*) :
The Ionians in the Tel el Amarna Tablets ;
Notes from Egypt ;
The Greeks in Babylonia—Græco-Cuneiform Texts.

A. BOISSIER :
Matériaux pour l'étude de la religion Assyro-Babylonienne, Part I.

PROF. J. H. BREASTED :
A mythological text from Memphis.

R. BROWN, JUNR., *F.S.A.* :
Note on the heavenly body

F. C. BURKITT :
Notes on Greek transcriptions of Babylonian tablets ;
The so-called Quinta of 4 Kings ;
Fragments of some early Greek MSS. on papyrus.

S. A. COOK, *M.A.* :
An Arabic Version of the prologue to Ecclesiasticus.

W. E. CRUM :
Eusebius and Coptic Church histories ;
A Scythian in Egypt ;
A bilingual charm.

ALAN H. GARDINER :
A monument of Antef V at Coptos ;
The word "Ma" in the inscription of Una ;
Note on the Millingen Papyrus I, 3–4.

J. E. GILMORE :
Manuscript portions of three Coptic Lectionaries.

REV. CANON GIRDLESTONE :
Notes on the comparative value of the two recensions of Ezra.

MRS. ALICE GRENFELL :
The iconography of Bes, and of Phoenican Bes-hand scarabs.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E.*, *&c.* :
Some unconventional views on the text of the Bible (III, IV).

REV. C. H. W. JOHNS :
The chronology of Assurbanipal's reign, I ;
Some Assyrian Letters.

F. LEGGE :
The history of the transliteration of Egyptian.

W. L. NASH, *F.S.A.* :
Heads of small statues from the Temple of Mut at Karnak ;
Ancient Egyptian draughts-boards and draughts-men.

PROF. E. NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*, *&c.* :
The Book of the Dead ; chapters CXL–CXLIX.

PERCY E. NEWBERRY :
Extracts from my Note Book, V ;
The Parentage of Queen Aah-hetep.

REV. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, *B.D.* :
The sacrifice of Isaac.

JOSEPH OFFORD :
The Antiquity of the 4-wheeled chariot ;
Semitic Analogies for Old Testament names ;
Inscriptions relating to the Jewish war of Vespasian and Titus.

J. OFFORD and E. J. PILCHER :
Some Punic Analogues.

E. J. PILCHER :
Ana-pani-Îli illustrated from the Hebrew.

DR. PINCHES :
Cylinder-seals belonging to J. Offord ;
Greek transcriptions of Babylonian tablets ;
Hammurabi's code of laws.

DR. W. PLEYTE :
Dwelling-houses in Egypt.

F. W. READ and A. C. BRYANT :
A Mythological text from Memphis.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI :
The Præfects of Egypt, II.

DR. W. SPIEGELBERG :
The fragments of the Astarte Papyrus of the Amherst collection ;
The hieratic Text in Mariette's *Karnak*.

E. TOWRY WHYTE, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.* :
Ancient Egyptian objects in wood and bone.
Egyptian foundation deposits of bronze and wooden model tools.
Types of Egyptian draughtsmen.

The Society was represented at the Congress of Orientalists, held at Rome in September last, by Mr. F. Legge, Mr. Edward S. M. Perowne, Mr. Walter L. Nash, *F.S.A.*, and myself; and an interesting account of

the Meeting by Mr. Legge will be printed in a future part of the *Proceedings*.

The necessary completion of the nine volumes of *Transactions* already published, in the form of a complete Index to the whole series, making a tenth volume, would render the contents much more available to both scholars and students. Again the Society has been indebted to Mr. Nash, who has prepared this Index, and presented the manuscript to the Society. It is quite complete, and only waits, as stated in the circular sent to all the members, the necessary number of subscribers to enable the Council to have it printed. A few more subscribers would enable the Council to issue this Index, and it is much to be regretted that sufficient members do not send in their names, so that the volume may be printed without drawing on the ordinary income of the Society.

The work so kindly undertaken by M. Naville, of completing the late President's translation of the Book of the Dead, is well in progress, and a regular sequence of chapters are now being printed in the *Proceedings*.

Much inconvenience, and correspondence which should be unnecessary, has been caused by some Members not paying their subscriptions regularly. I must call attention to the notices issued in the *Proceedings* at the end of each year, one of which points out *that the subscriptions are due in advance in January*.

The number of kindred Societies with which publications are exchanged has been increased; and it has been the special endeavour of the Council to collect together as many as possible of the journals and other publications containing matter relating to Biblical Archæology, in order that they may be ready for reference by the members of the Society. Donations of books have been made by both members and authors, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due for thus placing a number of works within the reach of many to whom they may be of real service. It is to be regretted that the funds at their disposal for this purpose are not sufficient to allow the Council to make the Library as complete as could be wished.

A list of many works especially wanted for the use of the Members has been printed many times at the end of the *Proceedings*. This list is necessarily altered from time to time, owing to the kind responses made by the presentation of some of the books required. It is sincerely to be hoped, for the benefit of those students who use our Library, that those Members who have duplicate copies of those works entered in the list, or others connected with the objects of the Society, will present them, and thus give to students the opportunity and benefit of using them.

In order to protect the many valuable books and journals from damage and loss, a circular has been several times issued asking for donations towards binding. It has been responded to by those

to whom the Society has been so often indebted for assistance. The following is a list of the subscriptions received :—

	£	s.	d.
Rev. C. H. W. Johns	5	0	0
W. E. Crum	5	0	0
Rev. Jas. Marshall	5	0	0
Jon. L. Evans	5	0	0
W. H. Rylands	5	0	0
The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Shrewsbury ...	2	2	0
Miss L. Kennedy	1	1	0
The Hon. Miss Plunket	1	0	0
W. Morrison	5	0	0
Rev. Dr. Löwy	1	1	0
Maxwell Close	5	0	0
A. Peckover	5	0	0
Miss Peckover	5	0	0
J. Pollard	5	0	0
F. C. Burkitt	1	0	0
Miss Izod	1	0	0
T. Christy	1	0	0
Dr. Gaster	0	10	0
Miss Rucker	1	1	0
F. D. Mocatta	5	0	0
Miss Ingram	0	5	0
F. Legge...	1	0	0
H. Sefton Jones	1	0	0

The audited Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1902 shows that the funds available for that year have been £664 1*s.* 10*d.* and the expenditure for the same period has been £581 11*s.* 2*d.* The balance carried forward from 1901 was £39 1*s.* 4*d.*, and that from the year just ended is £82 10*s.* 8*d.*

Sir Henry Howorth announced that Mr. Rylands having resigned the Secretaryship of the Society, Mr. Walter L. Nash, *F.S.A.*, had very kindly undertaken to fill the office of Secretary. He wished to thank Mr. Nash for having done so, and also to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Rylands for all the care and trouble he had given to the affairs of the Society for a period of close upon twenty-five years.

Mr. Thomas Christy, *F.L.S.*, in seconding the vote, expressed the regret the Council felt in losing the services of Mr. Rylands, a regret which he felt sure would be shared by the Members. It was, however,

most gratifying to know that the duties of Secretary had been taken up by Mr. Nash, who for some years had been a member of the Council. The vote having been put to the Meeting by the Chairman, it was carried unanimously.

Mr. Rylands said in reply: I wish to thank Sir Henry Howorth and Mr. Christy for the very kind expressions they have used about me, and also the Council and Members for the good feeling which they have always shown towards me throughout the time I have held the office of Secretary. I should wish also to express my thanks to my friend Mr. Nash, who for more than a year past has been intimately associated with me in the working of the Society, for the very kind assistance he has so willingly given to me. It is an uphill task that he has undertaken, as I know perhaps better than anyone, and I will ask you all to give to him that kind consideration which I have always received.

As I have now passed out of office, before I sit down I will take this opportunity, which seems to me to be a favourable one, of adding a few remarks which I have hesitated to say while I was the Secretary. I hope they will pass far beyond these walls, and will by one means or another come to the knowledge of those Members who are not now present: and I speak now in order to remove if possible from my successor some of those disheartening troubles which have followed me throughout the whole of my term of office.

It should be remembered that although this Society has attained a very prominent position among learned Societies, and has and is publishing material of the greatest value to Science, this has not been done without the continuous labour of the Council and officers, because although many kind friends have generously furnished the papers we have printed, the "ways and means" have always required the greatest care and consideration.

More *general* interest in the Society is required. The greater number of the Members exhibit no interest whatever beyond paying their subscriptions with more or less regularity, and receiving the publications when sent to them by post. They never do anything for the benefit of the Society, never send in papers, never nominate new members, and never subscribe towards any undertaking started by the Council. New Members are constantly required, and it is impossible to believe that if a little more interest was exhibited, and some little effort made, there would be any difficulty in very greatly increasing, if not doubling, the number of names now on the roll.

I have fought the battle now for a good number of years, but surely the fact that we have collected together and printed far more material towards the proper understanding of many points connected with the Bible than any other Institution in existence, ought to be enough to merit some considerable support, a more than ordinary acknowledgment.

Again, opportunities occur when it is in the power of the Council to render the work of the Society more generally useful, by the publication of books or otherwise: the response in such cases is always made by the few, and those nearly always the same. One instance may be pointed out. For some years a complete Index of the nine volumes of *Transactions* has been ready for the press, and the labour of this we owe to Mr. Nash. Circular after circular has been sent out with the *Proceedings*, and still the number of subscribers required for the bare cost of printing it has not been received. It is needless to point out the advantages of having this Index, as it is evident.

Again, the valuable Library, so rich in periodical publications, which I have gathered together, almost without any cost, required attention in order to make it more useful, as well as to secure the preservation of the books. A request for so small a sum as £100 for this purpose was circulated with the *Proceedings* more than once. The result has been that 23 Members out of a total of about 500 have subscribed £66. If every Member able to help had contributed in the same manner, far more than the sum asked for would easily have been obtained.

It is in the power of everyone to do something to help on the good work we have been doing for so many years, if there is only the effort to do it. Every well regulated Society consists of three kinds of members, those who write papers, those who secure new members, and those who pay; with such a combination, all must go well.

A very apt expression was recently used by one to whom we owe our allegiance and respect. When the vast bulk of the Members of this Society "wake up," there will come a time of prosperity and peace.

I need hardly assure you that my interest in the Society remains undiminished, and that it will always be a real pleasure to me to promote its welfare in every way in my power.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected :—

COUNCIL, 1903.

President.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &c., &c.

Vice-Presidents.

THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.
THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON.
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., &c., &c.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD HALSBURY.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY.
F. D. MOCATTA, F.S.A., &c.
WALTER MORRISON.
SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART., D.C.L., M.D., &c.
ALEXANDER PECKOVER, LL.D., F.S.A.
F. G. HILTON PRICE, DIR.S.A.
W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A.
GENERAL SIR FRANCIS GRENFELL, K.C.B., &c., &c.
THE RIGHT REV. S. W. ALLEN, D.D. (R.C. Bishop of Shrewsbury).
GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN, G.C.M.G., &c., &c.

Council.

REV. CHARLES JAMES BALL, M.A.
REV. PROF. T. K. CHEYNE, D.D.
THOMAS CHRISTY, F.L.S.
DR. M. GASTER.
F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.
SIR H. H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., &c.
REV. ALBERT LÖWY, LL.D., &c.
REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.
PROF. G. MASPERO.
CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE.
PROF. E. NAVILLE.
EDWARD S. M. PEROWNE.
J. POLLARD.
S. ARTHUR STRONG.
EDWARD B. TYLOR, LL.D., F.R.S., &c.

Honorary Treasurer.

BERNARD T. BOSANQUET.

Secretary.

WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A.

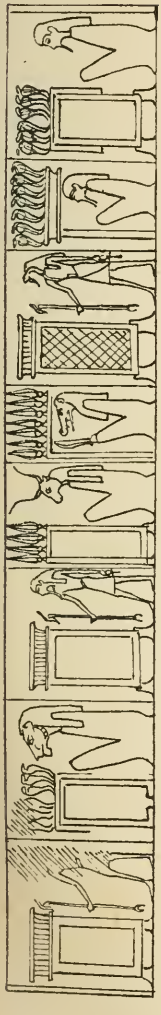
Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

F. LEGGE.

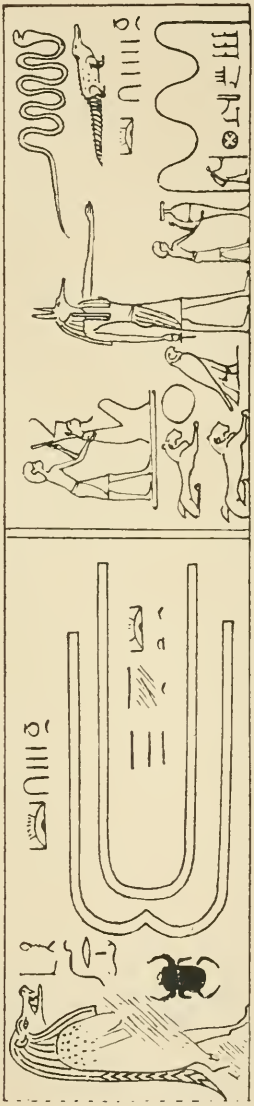
Honorary Librarian.

WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A. (*pro. tem.*).

PLATE LI.

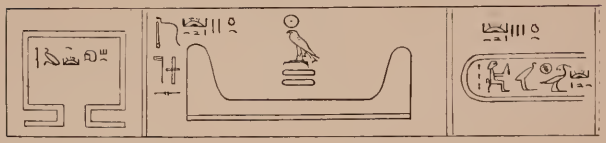


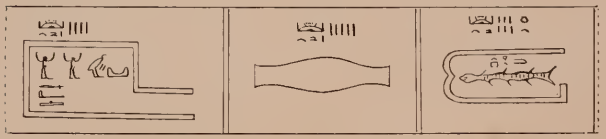
CHAPTERS CXLV AND CXLVI. British Museum. Papyrus 9900.

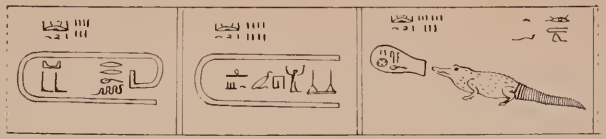


CHAPTER CXLIX. British Museum. Papyrus 9900.

CHAPTERS CXLV AND CXLVI. British Museum. Papyrus 9900.







CHAPTER CXLIX. British Museum. Papyrus 9900.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV, p.* 316.)

CHAPTER CXLIX—*continued.*

The fourth domain. O this great and lofty mountain of the Netherworld, on the highest point of which ends the sky. It is three hundred measures in length, and ten in width. There is a snake on it, he with sharp knives is his name, he is seventy cubits in his windings, he lives by slaughtering the glorious ones and the damned in the Netherworld.

I stand on thy wall, (4) directing my navigation. I see the way towards thee. I gather myself together. I am the man who puts a veil on thy head, and I am uninjured. I am the great magician; thy eyes have been given me, and I am glorified through them. Who is he who goeth on his belly? Thy strength is on thy mountain; behold, I march towards it, and thy strength is in my hand. I am he who lifts the strength. I have come and I have taken away the serpents(5) of Rā, when he rests with me at eventide.

I go round the sky, thou art in thy valley, as was ordered to thee before.

The fifth domain. O this domain of the glorious ones, which is open to no one. The glorious ones who are in it have thighs of seven cubits, and they live on the shades of the motionless.

Open to me the ways, that I may appear before you, that I may reach the good Amenta, as was ordered me by Osiris, the glorious one, the lord of all the glorified.

I live of your glory, I observe the first day of the month, and the half-month on the fifteenth day.

I have gone round with the eye of Horus in my power, following Thoth.

Any god, or damned, who opens his devouring mouth against me on this day, is struck down on the block.

The sixth domain. O thou Amemhet who art sacred more than the hidden gods and the glorious ones, and who art dreadful to the gods. The god in it is called Sechez-at. (6)

Hail to thee, Amemhet. I have come to see the gods within thee.

Show your faces, and take away your head-dresses in my presence, I have come to make your bread.

Sechez-at will not be stronger than I; the slaughterers will not come behind me, the impure ones will not come behind me.

I live upon your offerings.

The seventh domain. O this Ases, too remote to be seen; the heat of which is that of blazing fire. There is a serpent in it whose name is Rerek. His backbone is seven cubits, he lives on glorious ones, destroying their glory.

Get thee behind me, Rerek, who is in Ases, who bites with his mouth; and who paralyses with his eyes.

Thy teeth are torn away, thy venom is powerless.

Thou shalt not come towards me, thy venom will not penetrate into me. Thy poison is fallen and thrown down, and thy lips are in a hole.

The white serpent has struck his *ka*, and his *ka* has struck the white serpent. (7)

I shall be protected. His head was cut off by the lynx. (8)

The eighth domain. O this Hahotep, the very great, the stream of which nobody takes the water for fear of its roaring.

The god whose name is the lofty one, keeps watch over it, in order that nobody may come near it.

I (9) am the vulture which is on the stream without end. I brought the things of the world to Tmu, at the time when the sailors (of Rā) are abundantly provided.

I have given my strength to the lords of the shrines, and the awe I inspire to the lord of all things.

I shall not be taken to the block. The pleasure they take in me will not be destroyed. I am the guide on the northern horizon.

The ninth domain. (10) O this Akset which art hidden to the gods, the name of which the glorious ones are afraid to know. No one goes out who goes into it, except this venerable god, who inspires fear to the gods and terror to the glorious ones. Its open-

ing is of fire, its wind destroys the nostrils. He made it such (11) for his followers in order that they may not breathe its wind, except this venerable god who comes out of his egg.

He made it such, being in it, in order that nobody may come near it, except Rā who is supreme in his attributes.

Hail to thee, venerable god, who comes out of his egg. I have come to thee to be in thy following. I go out of, and I come into Akset. Open to me the doors, that I may inhale its wind, and that I may take the offerings within it.

The tenth domain. (12) O this city of the Kahu gods who take hold of the glorious ones, and who gain mastery over the shades (13) . . . . . Who they see with their eyes; who have no connection with the earth.

O ye who are in your domain, throw yourselves on your bellies, that I may pass near you. My glorious nature will not be taken from me. No one will give mastery over my shade, for I am the divine hawk who has been rubbed with *anti* and anointed with incense; libations have been offered to me; Isis is before me; Nephthys is behind me.

The way has been pointed to me by Nau, the bull of Nut and Nehebkau. I have come to you, ye gods; deliver me and glorify me of an eternal glory.

The eleventh domain. O this city in the Netherworld, this cavity which masters the glorious ones.

No one goes out, of those who went into it, from the dread of the appearance of him who is in it.

He who sees the god who is in it, face to face, he who sees him dies there from his blows, except the gods who are there, and who are hidden to the glorious ones.

O this Atu, in the Netherworld. Grant that I may reach them; I am the great magician, with his knife; I am issued of Set, (I stand on) my feet for ever.

I rise, and I am mighty through this eye of Horus; my heart is raised, after it has fallen low.

I am glorious in heaven, and I am mighty on earth.

I fly like Horus, I cackle like the divine goose.

It was given me to alight near the stream of the lake; I stand near it, I sit near it, I eat of the food in Sechit Hotepit, I go down to the islands of the wandering stars.

The doors of the Maāti are open to me; and the gates of the upper waters are unbolted to me.

I raise my ladder up to the sky to see the gods.

I am one of them, I speak like the divine goose, and I listen to the gods.

I talk aloud, I repeat the words of Sothis.

The twelfth domain. O this domain of Unt, within Restau, the heat of which is that of fire. No god goes down into it, and the glorious ones do not gather into it, for the four snakes would destroy their names. (14)

O this domain of Unt! I am the great among the glorious ones within. I am among the wandering stars. I am not destroyed; my name is not destroyed.

Come, thou divine scent, say the gods who are in the domain of Unt.

I am with you, I live with you, ye gods who are within the domain of Unt.

You love me more than your gods. I am with you for ever, in the presence of the followers of the great god.

(*To be continued.*)

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

IV.

The Septuagint Text of the Book of Nehemiah.

By Sir Henry H. Howorth, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S., etc.*

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV, p.* 340.)

Let us revert to the question of whether Ezra and Nehemiah were contemporary or not. The first passage in which they are distinctly made so is in Nehemiah viii, 9. There is something not quite plain about this 9th verse of the 8th chapter of the Canonical Nehemiah. In the Hebrew, followed by the Revised Version, we read, "and Nehemiah, which was the Tirshatha, and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the Levites, etc., said unto all the people." In the Greek of Theodotion, however, we only read, "and Neemias and Esdras the priest and scribe, and the Levites." This is not all, the mention of Nehemiah in this place is very curious; he is not named at all in the preceding narrative, in which the companions of Ezra are specially mentioned by name, and it seems to me that the introduction of the name here was an interpolation. This seems confirmed by the corresponding passages in Esdras A, where the statement is quite confused, as if Origen, or whoever edited the book in the Hexapla, had endeavoured to reconcile the introduction of the personality of Nehemiah here by a clumsy artifice. In Esdras A, ix, 49, we read, "Then spake Atharates unto Esdras, the Chief Priest and Reader, and to the Levites, etc." Here it is Atharates who is made to address Esdras and the Scribes, while in the other story Neemias joins with Ezra and the Levites in addressing the people.

This divergence in the texts raises suspicions of alteration and interpolation at this point. The reading of the Canonical book seems inconsequent. It seems most unlikely that a kind of joint address or sermon should have been delivered, not by Ezra the Priest, but by Nehemiah the Governor in combination with Ezra the Priest and with the Levites. There is something clearly wrong here. The corresponding story as told in Esdras A, ix, 49, seems equally inconsequent and corrupt. Atharates, who is not named in

the previous story, is said to have preached the sermon to Esdras the Chief Priest and to the Levites. The important point to remember, however, is that this latter text, which substantially represents the Septuagint, gives no countenance to the reading of Nehemiah in this passage at all. The name of such an important personage is not likely to have been left out if it had been there originally. The only other escape from this dilemma would be to treat Atharates as a corruption of Tirshatha, and as therefore a secondary reference to Nehemiah in this passage; but for this I know of no evidence whatever. Atharates is clearly used in Esdras A, ix, 49, as a proper name, and not as a title or appellative.

As Hermann Guthe, in arguing in favour of Atharates being a proper name, in his notes to Nehemiah, speaking of this passage, says, "it is altogether improbable that the author of Esdras would have omitted the proper name, and taken up the title." In this view I completely concur, as I do in his further argument that, "since historical considerations, for the sake of which he might have avoided speaking of Nehemiah, are elsewhere quite foreign to his book, it must be assumed that he had no other reading in his original than that reproduced in his translation," Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, *Ez.-Neh.*, 50 and 51.

In considering the question of whether Ezra and Nehemiah were contemporaries, therefore, we must put aside Nehemiah viii, 9 as a corrupt if not a quite irrelevant source. The next mention of the two names together is in Nehemiah xii, 26, where the passage is contained in a quite late and retrospective narrative, in which the high priest Jaddua, who lived long after, is mentioned, and where the passage in question merely refers back to the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, and the days of Nehemiah the Governor and of Ezra the priest the scribe; the order in which the two last names occur shows that the passage is not a very accurate and precise one; apart from this there is in it no reference to the two men having been contemporaries.

There really remains only one difficulty in the Bible text in the way of an acceptance of the view of Josephus, that Ezra and Nehemiah succeeded each other, and were not contemporaries, namely, Nehemiah xii, 36, where Ezra the scribe is mentioned as taking part in the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem. This is the only shred of real unsophisticated evidence for the contemporaneousness of the careers of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Bible.

I cannot help thinking that the mention of Ezra in this passage is an interpolation or a corruption. It cannot be overlooked that it is almost incredible that such a great man as Ezra was should have been made to play such an insignificant part on this occasion, if he had been really present at the ceremony. It will be further noted as extraordinary that Ezra the scribe should be there mentioned not with the priests, but with the priests' sons playing trumpets and other musical instruments.

Secondly, it is curious that while Ezra the scribe is thus mentioned in verse 37 among the priests' sons, another Ezra is named in verse 34 among the priests. This led Rawlinson, a most conservative critic, to conclude that the Ezra of verse 34 was an interpolation which had come in from the margin, perhaps a gloss on the preceding name Azariah. Bishop Ryle says very aptly in this behalf, that "from a comparison of Nehemiah xii, 1 and 13 with x, 2, we might suppose that Azariah and Ezra were the names of the same priestly house" (see *Cambridge Bible*, 301, note to verse 33).

Again, in verses 35 and 36 we have mention of the priests' sons with trumpets, where we read, "Zechariah and his brethren, Shemaiah and Azarael, Milalai, Gilalai, Maai, Nethaneel, and Judah; Hanani with the musical instruments of David the man of God, and Ezra the scribe was before them." This is in the Hebrew text of the passage, but in the Greek text, which I have argued is Theodotion's, Milalai, which is suspiciously like Gilalai, is omitted, and it is exceedingly probable that the name is a redundancy. If we omit it, we then have nine names, which does not answer symmetrically to the corresponding eight priests in verse 42. Whence Guthe further suggests that Ezra in the passage should not be counted. (*The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 54.) I would rather suggest that it goes to show that Ezra's is an interpolated name, and this is supported by what has otherwise struck the critics, that this part of chapter xii of Nehemiah is corrupt. The view here maintained is supported by Kosters, who, in Cheyne's *Bible Dictionary*, p. 1486, says, "The redactor . . . inserted the name of Ezra at least once, in a rather inappropriate place, in the account of the building of the wall, Nehemiah xii, 36."

It would seem, therefore, that when analyzed the evidence in the Bible in favour of Ezra and Nehemiah being contemporaries fades away into shadow, and that it is exceedingly probable that in this matter Josephus, who doubtless followed the Septuagint, was right.

Josephus has a second statement which has been supposed to be at issue with the present Hebrew Bible text in Nehemiah: speaking of Sanballat, he says "he was a Cuthean by birth, of which stock were the Samaritans" (*Ant.*, XI, vii), that is to say, he was a native of Cutha in Babylon. The Hebrew Bible makes him an Arab. He is thus called "the Horonite" in Nehemiah ii, 10 and 19, and xiii, 28; but in chapter iv, 2 he is said to have spoken before his brethren and the army of Samaria, which points to his having spoken not Arabic but Aramaic. The question is, was he an Arab or an Aramaic-speaking Babylonian?

Batten points out that while he is called a Horonite in the Book of Nehemiah, his *name* was clearly not an Arabic one, but Babylonian. Its correct form was Sin Muballaṭ, which was corrupted into Sin Uballat, and he was probably at the head of the Samaritan community. This surely confirms the description of him given by Josephus, and points to the Masoretic text having been altered for polemical purposes, it having no doubt been thought indecent in later times to give so much prestige to a Samaritan.

There is a third statement of Josephus in which he is at issue with the Masoretic text of the Bible, in which he also seems to be right, and probably preserves for us the Septuagint tradition.

According to the Hebrew Bible the walls of Jerusalem took only fifty-two days to build. This seems quite incredible; Josephus says that two years and four months were spent in the work, and he is very precise in his date, making Nehemiah arrive in the 25th year of Xerxes (really Artaxerxes) and not the 20th, as in the Masoretic text of the Bible, and complete the work in the ninth month of his 28th year. This seems a much more reasonable story, and it seems to me very probable that it represents the original narrative; two years and four months is a much more likely time to be occupied in such a work than a little over seven weeks. Not only so, but the narrative in the Masoretic text seems difficult in another way; Nehemiah is made to arrive in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, and then Nehemiah is made to say that from the 20th year to the 32nd year, twelve years, he and his brethren had not eaten the bread of the governor, chapter v, verse 14. It is after this he tells us of the completion of the wall, which would seem therefore not to have been completed until the 32nd year of the king, that is to say not until Nehemiah had been at Jerusalem for twelve years. This again seems inconsistent with the statement in chapter xiii, verse 6 of Nehemiah, where we are told

that he was away from Jerusalem all the time that Eliashib had had connections with Tobiah and had appropriated a room for him in the temple, and did not return there till the 32nd year of Artaxerxes. In the one case he apparently speaks of a continuous residence at Jerusalem for twelve years, from the 20th to the 32nd of Artaxerxes, and in the second of his absence apparently for a considerable time, and his return in the latter year.

The ordinary reading of the whole narrative seems to me, as it has seemed to others, to involve an absurdity, namely, that Nehemiah having built the walls in fifty-two days, did not have them consecrated for twelve years after; and it would seem probable that here again Josephus has preserved the true Septuagint tradition against the corruptions of the Masoretic text.

Let us however turn to the actual text of Nehemiah; and first as to the separate history of the book. In his preface to Ezra, Jerome tells us that among the Jews Ezra and Nehemiah formed one book; and Eusebius, in his *Church History*, tells us that Origen, in his exposition of the Psalms, gives a catalogue of the Bible books. This he abstracts, and in this abstract we read, *inter alia*, that the Hebrews accepted the books of Esdras 1 and 2 in one, *i.e.*, Ezra: Ἔσδρας πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος ἐν ἑνὶ Ἔζρᾶ.

In the Hebrew MSS. the two books are integrated into a continuous narrative. Only one book of Ezra is known to the writers of the Talmud. The Masorets, who added notes to each book, enumerating the number of words it contains, put no such notes at the end of Ezra, but put them at the end of what we call Nehemiah. The Masoretic sections run right across the junction of the two books, one of them comprising Ezra viii, 35—Neh. ii, 1, while the book of Ezra is made to contain 685 verses, of which Neh. iii, 32 is named as the middle one (*see* Batten, *Bib. Biblica*, I, 821). There cannot be any doubt therefore that the separation of the two books was quite a late matter among the Jews. The first time the division occurs in a Hebrew text, so far as I know, is in the Complutensian Polyglot, which follows the example of the Vulgate. Like many changes in the Jewish Bible, it first definitely occurs in Daniel Bomberg's edition, 1516–1517, printed at Venice, where at the end of Ezra x, 44, there is inserted into the text the phrase "the Book of Nehemiah" (Ginsburg, *Introduction*, p. 934). It was no doubt taken by Bomberg from the Christian Bible. The separation of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah therefore was the work of the

Christians, and it is interesting to find out when it was made. It had been so separated in Jerome's time, for in his *Prolog. Gal.* he says, "Esdras qui et ipse apud Græcos et Latinos in duos libros divisus est."

Origen, in the passage above quoted, was apparently the first to refer to such a division, and, as we have seen, he speaks of it as being conscious of its being different from the Hebrew text in this respect. It was probably Origen who in fact separated the books, and they apparently occurred as two books in the Hexaplar edition, and are labelled Esdras 1 and 2 in the fragments of the Syro-Hexaplar preserved in the Syr. Catena. [Bm. Syr. MSS., Wright's Cat. DCCCLII.] Before the time of Origen they were apparently one book. Thus Melito of Sardis (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, 26) knows only one book of Esdras. Hilary in his list has the peculiar entry, xi, "Sermones dierum Esdra." In the Vatican MS. of the Greek Bible the text passes straight on from Ezra x, 44, to Nehemiah i, 1 on the same line, and the same marginal label, namely Esdras B, occurs continuously throughout the two books. The old Latin version, which carries a very old tradition, integrates the two books into one. It is plain therefore that both in the Greek and Hebrew the two books were once continuous. The occurrence of the entries Esdras A and B in many of the early lists, *ex. gr.*, Athanasius, ep. fest. 39, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* IV, 35, Epiphanius hær. I, i, 5, id de mens et pond. 23; Amphilochius ad Seleuc. ap Gr. Naz., carm II, VII, etc., etc., and the similar reference in Latin authors to two books of Ezra as by Ruffinus, Augustine, Pseudo-Athanasius, Cassiodorus, etc., refer to the two recensions of Ezra and not to Ezra and Nehemiah. The two canonical books are very properly integrated by Lagarde in his edition, but why he labels them Esdras A I do not understand. Swete also integrates them in his edition of the Greek Old Testament, and quite properly calls the joint Book Esdras B, reserving the title Esdras A for the true Septuagint text.

So much for the external form of the book of Nehemiah. Now for its contents. These contents have been altered and edited. This is universally admitted. For this conclusion I may cite the late Lord Arthur Harvey, who was among the most orthodox of critics in this country who have written on Ezra and Nehemiah. He says of the book, "the book is clearly and certainly not all by one hand. Portions are either extracts from various chronicles and registers or supplementary narratives and reflections, some apparently by Ezra, others perhaps the work of the same person as inserted the latest

genealogical matter;" and again he says, "it is certain that interpolations and additions have been made in Nehemiah since his time." (Nehemiah in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.*)

This opinion is shared by every one who has examined the book in a greater or less degree. The interesting question is not to decide that there have been dislocations, but to what extent they exist, and how far they have affected the text. Until this has been decided, it is no use treating of the historical value of the contents of the work.

As so many people have applied themselves to the criticism of the book, it would seem at first sight as if there were no room for fresh theories on the subject.

The main points in which I claim to differ from previous critics are first in attaching more weight and importance to the testimony of Josephus than others have done; secondly, in using Esdras A as a touchstone of the original Septuagint text; and thirdly, in assigning the more important of these changes, not to the original editor of the joint books who compiled them, but to the much later editors of the original Masoretic Bible.

The conclusion that the canonical Ezra in its Greek form does not, as has been so generally supposed, represent the Septuagint text of the book, but almost certainly the translation of that book by Theodotion, carries a great deal more with it. It seems inevitably to follow, as I have previously urged, that the same conclusion must attach to the canonical Chronicles and Nehemiah, which, like Ezra, follow the Masoretic text so closely and are like it in style and language. The overlapping verses at the end of Chronicles and beginning of Ezra form a touchstone in fact by which this conclusion can be completely tested in so far as Chronicles are concerned, for these verses are not only alike in substance but are the same in language, showing that the text of both Chronicles and Ezra was taken from a once perfectly continuous Greek translation, which could be no other than Theodotion's. It is hardly possible to doubt that the same is true of the canonical Nehemiah; the Greek text of the canonical Nehemiah is clearly the same in substance with the Masoretic Hebrew, of which it is a good translation, and to any one examining it without preconceived notions it would not occur to refer to it as a Septuagint text at all. It is the same in the order of the narrative, in its contents, and in fact in every way we can test it. This is

supported by another fact, namely by the absence of any hexaplaric variants from the MSS. of the books except those which have professedly been taken from the Septuagint itself. If Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, in the Greek codices, had been Septuagint texts, there is no reason, as I long ago urged, why there should not have been a catena of hexaplaric readings in their margins from Theodotion, but if they were taken from Theodotion this is explained. On the other hand, the fact of there being so many hexaplaric readings from the Septuagint appended to these books, shows that they do not represent a Septuagint text, but some other, and this can hardly be any other than Theodotion's. The evidence is all consistent, and as it seems to me perfectly conclusive.

This being so, I cannot avoid hoping that Dr. Swete, in the next edition of his quite incomparable Manual Edition of the Greek Old Testament, which is conspicuous by being labelled, "The Old Testament in Greek *according to the Septuagint*," will remit all the books just mentioned to an appendix, together with the canonical Daniel, and print them together as being parts of Theodotion's version, and having nothing whatever to do with the Septuagint, and that the editors of the great Cambridge edition of the Septuagint will exclude all four books in the form in which they occur in the Canon, from their edition, and give us instead the Chisian Daniel, freed from its hexaplaric corruptions, and a scientific edition of Esdras A, with any additional portions of the real Septuagint Chronicles and Nehemiah they may be able to recover, either in fragments or in some version.

This will prevent a good many wrong inferences, for it seems to me that nothing can be more misleading and productive of difficulties than the way in which the canonical Greek texts of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah in the great Greek codices have been habitually quoted by German and other critics, including some of the very latest, as if they represented some independent text like the Septuagint, while they merely represent Theodotion's slightly eclectic edition of the Masoretic text.

The transference of all these books from Theodotion's translation, and the planting them among the Septuagint translations of the other books, was in all probability the handiwork of Origen, or of his editors Eusebius and Pamphilus.

(*To be continued.*)

MATÉRIAUX POUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA RELIGION ASSYRO-BABYLONIENNE.

By ALFRED BOISSIER.

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV*, p. 233.)

Addenda aux remarques du § 1. K 6012 + K 10684 nous donne dans la colonne du milieu des indications sur certains jours du mois les 15, 19, 20, 25 et 30 et continue par [illegible] qui correspond dans la troisième colonne à *bu-*[*bu-lum*],[1] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]?, [illegible], [illegible] . . . ; la troisième colonne est dans un état défectueux ; la première énumère *riešu*, *amtum*, *aštapiru*, *kinatutum*, *inu*, *panu*, *šikru*[2] ([illegible]), etc. ; c'est évidemment le

[1] *bubulu.*

[2] *šikru* = [illegible] est probablement un organe, une partie du corps, *cf.* K. 159 (S. A. Smith, *Assurb.*, H. III), l. 11, *Šumma bamâtu* (SA . TI) *eli kubši HU . SI u šikru išidṣa BAR :* Si la *bamâtu* sur le *kubšu* s'élève et que le *šikru* sa base est partagée ; (*šikru* est féminin). D'après IV R. 29, No. 3, *bamâtu* serait une partie de la *tête*, puisque le *cou* vient ensuite ; K. 3970 (publié dans mon "Esquisse de la divination assyro-babylonienne") nous dit ce qui doit arriver "si une brebis met au monde un lion dont la *bamâtu* droite ou gauche—?—le [illegible]" (faut-il comprendre ainsi : dont la *bamâtu* est couverte de *nilu*?) [illegible] (ou [illegible]) [illegible], etc. ; il s'agit donc du [illegible] *nilu* qui peut se trouver sur la *bâmatu. kuṣṣû* est II, 1), de כסה, dont la signification "couvrir" (Del.) est mise en doute par Jensen. Ce verbe n'a rien à voir avec כצה (Del., *H. W.*, 349). Le sens ne m'est pas clair, et dans le doute j'en suis revenu à celui proposé par Delitzsch. Le [illegible] qu'on constate sur les organes est mentionné dans un certain nombre de textes relatifs à l'haruspicium. Il est dit aussi "s'il y a du [illegible] sur *l'appu* de ce lion engendré par une brebis, telle chose arrivera."

texte qu'a en vue Del., *H. W.*, p. 153, s. *aštapiru ; cf.* aussi III R. 56, No. 4 ; 𒀀𒌋 𒀭𒀭 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒀀 est le jour du *ka-sap kispi*, comme le démontre K. 2578 + K. 4641 + K. 5229, dont voici un extrait en attendant la publication des documents démonologiques annoncée par Weissbach.

COL. II.

1. . . . . 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒀀 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒀀 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒀀

accepte? la libation funéraire = BÚR-ú KI.SIG.GA (= *kispa*) NA'.A (= *bubbula*). IV, R. 53, Col. II, 21. Nébo est le dieu qui fait vivre les morts (*muballit mîti*, IV, R. 53, Col. IV, 35), et en cette qualité il préside en quelque sorte aux rites funéraires. Un document très important pour les honneurs à rendre à l'*ekimmu* est Sm. 1042, que je communiquerai prochainement. Il est spécieux de regarder *Dumuzi zuab* comme étant Nébo, puis qu'il est appelé (Gudea, B, Col. IX, 2; *cf.* K. B. III, p. 47, et Ur-Bau, Col. II, 3), seigneur de *Kinunir*, qui n'est autre que *Kinnir* = Borsippa, IV, R. 40, 15: ô seigneur[4] ta demeure est Babylone, ta couronne est Borsippa; pour *Dumuzi zuab* voir en dernier lieu Jensen, Epen, p. 560. Les rites de Borsippa et de Ninive sous le patronage de Nébo ne sont pas connus: le *kalû*[5] (amêl [cuneiform]) officiait dans ces cérémonies, dont l'organisation était indiquée dans des tablettes, au sujet desquelles il est dit, IV, R. 53, Col. IV, 31 [*ina ma'*]*dutum*[6] *ul amru ina libbi la ruddû*, c.-à.-d. auxquelles il n'y a pas à ajouter quoique ce soit ni à en sonder le grand nombre.

Le plus pieux hommage qu'on puisse rendre aux morts, c'est de leur accorder une sépulture, un tumulus, et telle serait la signification primitive de *KI.SIG.GA* qui dans la suite a pris une acception nouvelle, celle de repas, mets funéraires, et aussi les mets offerts aux dieux. Le psaume de pénitence IV R. 19 (voir les additions) addressé à Ištar d'Erech, laisse entrevoir que *kisikku* se rapporte au culte des morts, puisque Erech était la nécropole p. exc. de la Babylonie; *kisikkuki elluti* = tes mets (tes offrandes) funéraires purs. Un jour de l'année était en Babylonie l'*ûm kispi*, où l'on célébrait un culte en l'honneur des morts; il fallait à tout prix se concilier les mânes et nous ne savons s'il y avait plusieurs jours dans l'année où l'on procédait au *kispu*.

1. . . . . soit (*l'ekimmu*) qui du? a été privé?[7] qu'il soit?

[4] C'est Marduk.

[5] Ce personnage fonctionne dans les fêtes d'inauguration d'édifices, de canaux (Sanchér. Bavian, l. 27), et aussi dans les services funèbres (Gudea, B, Col. V, l. 3).

[6] Il est peut-être plus exact de relier *ina ma'dutum ul amru* à ce qui précède, c.-à.-d. à *ša ina qâtê šuṣû*.

[7] חלצא = [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) fait allusion ici probablement au genre de mort de l'individu; la lacune du commencement s'oppose à ce que l'on traduise autrement; le sens d'arracher, enlever, n'a rien d'impossible, mais celui d'empoisonner, souiller, corrompre ne me paraît pas non plus à rejeter de but en blanc.

2. . . . . soit (l'*ekimmu*) (de celui) qui dans un vaisseau a enfoncé dans les eaux, qu'il soit ?
3. soit l'*ekimmu* de celui qui n'a pas été enterré,[8] qu'il soit ?
4. soit l'*ekimmu*, qui n'a pas eu quelqu'un, qui en prenne soin, qu'il soit ?
5. soit l'*ekimmu*, qui n'a pas eu le repas funéraire,[9] qu'il soit ?
6. soit l'*ekimmu*, qui n'a pas eu la libation funéraire, qu'il soit ?
7. soit l'*ekimmu*, qui n'a pas eu la commémoration de son nom, qu'il soit ?

Dans le mémoire précédent (*P.S.B.A.*, June, 1902, p. 226) il faut lire à la note 16, "*Ningizzida* est un dieu (non pas une déesse) de la végétation," etc. ; ce même mémoire se terminait par un document dont chaque ligne à elle seule demanderait un commentaire étendu ; ce commentaire a sa place toute marquée dans le volume si souvent annoncé et que j'ai préparé sur la divination ; les lamentables retards de cette publication sont dus au sujet, qui est très vaste, et à l'ennui colossal qui émane de cette littérature abrutissante ; j'ai néanmoins à cœur de tenir ma promesse et cela me permettra, d'insérer un choix très varié de documents, dont le mérite d'être inédits,[10] pardonnera peut-être les nombreuses lacunes qui accompagneront forcèment cet ouvrage.

L. 1, lisez *KA . BI . ES*[11] (*kabâsu*) d'après des textes semblables, et traduisez jusqu'à nouvel ordre : "Si un *na* est écrasé (foulé)."

L. 15. traduisez "Si les *sádan* sont arrachés," d'après d'autres textes les *sadan* sont plus ou moins nombreux, en sorte qu'il convient de choisir le pluriel et au point de vue grammatical cela est plus correct. *Sadan* (SA.NIGIN) est peut-être l'intestin ; Küchler et Jensen traduisent par Eingeweide. La lecture DAN que j'ai proposée pour NIGIN n'est cependant pas sûre. On peut traduire l. 8, l'ennemi verra alors les derrières de mon armée, et *kutal* ḪAR serait la partie postérieure du foie ; les passages cités par Jensen, *Epen*,

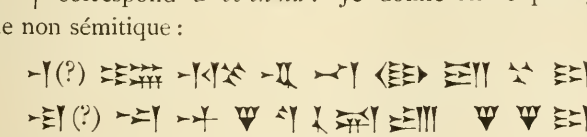
[8] Remarquons qu'il s'agit d'inhumation et non d'incinération.

[9] Y-a-t-il un rapport entre *kisikku* et le nom de la ville de Kiši^{ki}, II R. 53, 12 a ?

[10] Ces textes inédits comprendront l'original, la transcription et la traduction.

[11] On a dans un texte *KI . BI . IS* (𒆠𒁹 𒌋 𒄭𒁹) *šêpi amêli*, c.-à.-d. trace (*kibsu*) du pied de l'homme ; ailleurs on trouve encore KA . BI . EŠ (𒄭𒁹 𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒁹). Dans cette catégorie de documents les signes ont souvent des valeurs peu usitées ailleurs ; c'est ainsi que j'ai noté quelque part la valeur *iḫ* pour le signe 𒄭𒁹.

p. 464, militent en faveur de son explication; cependant rien n'est plus dangereux que de vouloir donner des significations précises à des termes encore mal définis sans les appuyer sur de nombreux exemples; pour *kutallu* le sens de "côté" est aussi possible que celui de "derrière," et principalement dans les passages invoqués par Jensen. D'autant plus que "marcher à côté" est une expression commune en Assyrie pour dire, appuyer, secourir. Dans II R. 48, 50, avons nous une preuve rigoureuse que *kutallum* = partie postérieure? Il est à supposer que [illegible] = *kutallu*, s'il en est ainsi, comme je le crois, M. Jensen a vu juste. Mais ces réserves ne diminuent en rien la valeur incontestable du commentaire de Jensen, valeur qui serait doublée s'il y avait un index. L'on pourrait multiplier considérablement les exemples destinés à corroborer les explications souvent nouvelles qu'il a proposées et devant me restreindre je me bornerai à en choisir au hasard un ou deux. L'explication la plus naturelle de *mummu* = matrice, moule, lieu où s'élabore la matière, se trouve dans K. 4172 publié par Meissner (*Supplem.*, p. 7), l. 5, où l'on a: [illegible] dont on comprend à première vue le groupement des termes: l'instrument (l'organe) dans l'intérieur duquel tourne la matière, le lieu où elle s'élabore. Suit *ammatum* également analysé par Jensen (p. 302, *Epen*). *Bennu* (Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 389 et p. 569) se trouve également dans II R. 28, 65 g, où on a *miqtum* (2 fois) et *be*[*-en-nu*], laquelle restitution est à déduire de K 2859 (série des démons), où [illegible] correspond à *be-en-nu*: Je donne ici le passage de la langue non sémitique:



be-en-nu mi-iq-tu ša ana ma-a-ti
la i-nu-uḫ-ḫu da-um-ma-tú(tam) i-šak-ka-nu

c.-à.-d., "le *bennu* (maladie du genre de la fièvre, d'après Jensen) l'abattement qui dans le pays, n'a aucune cesse, occasionne l'assombrissement." Il s'agit du démon, qui produit la maladie; *daummatu* = [illegible]. Voici quelques éclaircissements sur *šapulu* (*šabulu*), *cf.* Jensen, p. 510;[12] tout d'abord je ferai remarquer qu'on a doté le scorpion de membres qu'il ne possède

[12] Il s'agit d'un *šapulu* autre que celui mentionné II R. 30, No. 5, 66 (Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 509).

pas et que dans le texte, que j'ai publié dans mes documents, Rm. 2, 149 (p. 31), sont indiqués les présages d'après les piqûres de cet animal; ce sont donc les parties du corps de l'homme en souffrance dont traite l'omen et il ne s'agit en aucune manière de celles du scorpion (contra Meissner, Jensen). On s'en rendra compte en lisant ma traduction; *šapulu* (*šabulu*) n'est autre que *šipulu*, dont il est fait mention dans deux omina.

K. 2063—

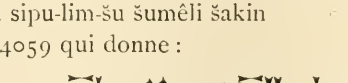
Si du *pindû* sur la tête d'un homme se trouve, il verra le mystère.

Šumma pindû (pi-in-du-ú) ina qaqqadi amêli šakin nisirta im[mar].

D'après K. 4059, ce *pindû* peut être de couleurs diverses, rouge (*du'mu*), noir, blanc, vert, brun (𒌋𒁹𒁹𒁹), tigré ou bigarré (*burrumu*), et tout le corps de l'homme peut en être imprégné. *Pindû* a une signification analogue à *malû*, qui paraît également dans K. 2063:

Šumma qaqqad amêli malû, ilappin (i-lap-pi-[in]).

Si la tête d'un homme est ou a du *malû*, il s'affaissera. Suivent les cas où le *malû* se trouve sur la tête à droite ou à gauche, sur le *nakaptu* à droite, le *nakaptu* à gauche, enfin on lit:

 , etc.

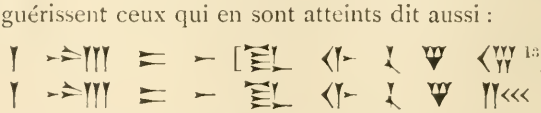
ce qui doit naturellement se transcrire ainsi—

Šumma ina sipu-lim-šu imni šakin

Šumma ina sipu-lim-šu šumêli šakin

à cause de K. 4059 qui donne:

Rm. 98, qui également indique les présages qui se rapportent aux piqûres des scorpions ainsi que les cérémonies à faire pour que les dieux guérissent ceux qui en sont atteints dit aussi:



De l'examen de ces passages l'on conclut que *ša-pu-ul* (*šabul*) = *šipulu* (*šibulu*) = *šapulu*, et que ce dernier est le mot assyrien qui

[13] J'ai restitué ainsi; 𒌋𒁹𒁹𒁹 et 𒁹𒁹<<< sont les termes *mathématiques* qui désignent la droite et la gauche, 𒁹𒁹𒁹 et 𒁹𒁹𒁹 les termes *anatomiques*.

désigne un des organes, une des parties du corps de l'homme. (*Cf.* principalement DA, p. 256, ll. 17, 18, 19, 20, 22.) Un *šapulu* (*šabulu*) qui me paraît être le même, est mentionné dans 82, 9–18, 4156, publié par Meissner, *Supplém.*, p. 29, et si j'ai bien compris ce texte, il s'agit d'un certain nombre de termes se rapportant à diverses malpropretés.

8. *ublu*[14] = *malû* = saleté, impureté (Jensen, *loc. cit.*, p. 401).
9. *ubbuku* = évacuer.
10. *abalu* = évacuer.
11. *šabulu* = évacuation, urine, excrément?, organe excréteur.
12. *hiššaḫu* = besoin (ici, dans l'ordre physique).
13. *ḫaḫḫu* = crachat.
14. *ṣienu* = puant, ce qui sent mauvais.

Si l'on considère en outre que *šapulu* semble venir de שפל (Del., *H. W.*, p. 680), dont le sens est "être en bas" tout porte à penser que *šapulu* désigne une des parties basses du corps, celles que l'on cache, et je ne m'étonnerais pas si l'exactitude de la restitution de Brünnow, No. 3455, [illegible] = *birit puridi*[15] ne devait se vérifier un jour.

[14] Del., *H. W.*, p. 7.

[15] Pour ce mot *cf.* Jensen, *Epen*, p. 508; *si-pu-ul* ne serait donc autre que *šipulu* (*šapulu*). C'est ce mot sans doute qui se rencontre également dans les documents publiés par Küchler dont la traduction par "trocken" me paraît bien problématique. (B.K.A.M., p. 8, l. 35.) *Cf.* aussi K. 4325, publié par Thompson. ?-pu-lu = bi-rit pu-ri-di.

(*To be continued.*)

INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO THE JEWISH WAR OF VESPASIAN AND TITUS.

By JOSEPH OFFORD, *Member Japan Society.*

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV, p.* 328.)

C Valerio C f Stel. Clementi IIvir. quinquennali flamini divi Aug. perpetuo, patrono coloniae decuriones alae Gaetulorum quibus praefuit bello Iudaico sub divo Vespasiano Aug patre honoris causa. Hic ob dedicationem statuarum equestris et pedestris oleum plebei utrique sexvi dedit.[14]

There is an inscription found at Carthage[15] which has given rise to much discussion as to whose name should be appended to it, and upon a decision as to this depends whether it confirms the presence in the Jewish War of Titus of the V Macedonica or the XV Apollinaris legion.

The text, as amplified by Mommsen and others, runs thus:

. . . . . hic in omn*ibus honoribus caudidatus* Caesarum *fuit.* Hunc Imp T Caes*ar divi f Vespasianus Aug* triumphaturus *de Iudaeis donavit donis* coronis murali*bus II coronis vallaribus II co*ronis aur*eis II, hastis puris totidemque* vexil*lis.*

This was at first ascribed to Sex Vettulenus Cerialis, who Josephus says was Legate of the V Macedonica.[16] Leon Renier confounded him with C Vettulenus Civica Cerealis, probably his son, who while proconsul of Asia was executed under Domitian, but Rohden[17] has cleared up the question.

The inscription is now thought by Dessau to apply not to Cerealis but to M. Tittius Frugi, who is mentioned by Josephus in Book VI of his *Jewish War* as commander of the 15th Legion.[18]

[14] *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, V, 7007.

[15] *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, VIII, 12536.

[16] *Bel. Iud.*, VI, 4. 3; see also VII, 6. 1.

[17] *De Palestina et Arabia Provinciis Romanis*, 1885, p. 37.

[18] M. Leon Renier considered that *Titus* Frugi was not Legate of the XV Legion; see his Memoir in the *Mémoires de l'Institut de France Acad. des Ins.*, Vol. XXVI, 1867, p. 269–371, "Les Officiers qui assistant au conseil de guerre tenu par Titus avant de livrer l'assaut du Jerusalem."

Another personage of importance in the War was Lucilius Bassus, who took the citadel of Macherus; he was at one time prefect of both the Ravenna and Misenum fleets, and we have two diplomas which mention him, the first as of the Misenum, and the second of the Ravennate, fleet.[19]

L. Laberius Maximus, the Procurator who served with Bassus in Judea, is recorded in a diploma of A.D. 83, and in the Acts of the Fratres Arvales.[20]

Another officer of the Roman army frequently mentioned by Josephus was Tiberius Julius Alexander. He had been Procurator of Judea, subsequently prefect of Egypt,[21] and was in Judea again in the time of Titus.

This text refers to him, and connects him with Judea:

['Αραδίων] ἡβουλ[ὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος] . . . . . ἱνιον Σεκοῦν[δον] [ἔπαρ]χον σπείρης [Θ]ρα[κῶν, πρ]ώτης, ἔπαρχον . . . . . ων, 'αντεπίτρο[πον Τιβερίο]υ 'Ιουλίου Ἀλεξ[άνδρου ἐπ]άρχου [τ]οῦ 'Ιουδαι[κοῦ στρατοῦ 'επίτ]ροπον Συρ[ίας, ἔπαρχον ἐν Αἰγύπ]τῳ λεγεῶνος ε[ἰκοστῆς δευτέρας.[22]

L. Flavius Silva, the conqueror of Masada according to Josephus, is mentioned upon inscriptions; once in the list of the Fratres Arvales, and again in a text of the Collegium Aerari Saturni.[23] It was stated that Valerius Clemens appears to have only been in Galilee during the first year of the war, and we now have a number of texts, all found at Gerasa (or Gerash), which probably are connected only with the earlier annals of the campaign.[24]

Gerasa had been the scene of a massacre of Syrians by the Jews, and the latter probably remained proprietors of the city. It was too valuable a town for Vespasian to permit the Jews to possess it, and he sent a force under L. Annius, who sacked the place.[25]

[19] *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, III, pp. 1959 and 850

[20] *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, V, 602; *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, VI, 2059; and *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, III, 1962.

[21] De Ricci, *Proceedings Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1901, p. 60.

[22] *Cor. Ins. Graec.*, 4536 and 4957; see also *Bull. Cor. Hell.*, 1895,524. *C.I.L.*, VI, 294, *Bell. Jud.*, V, 1–6, etc.

[23] *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, VI, 2059, and ditto, 1495, and ditto VI, 10243. See Dio Cassius, LXVI, 26.

[24] La guerre de Judée et ses conséquences pour Gerasa. Perdrizet, *Rev. Biblique*, 1900, 432.

[25] See text of III Cyrenaica from Gerasa in note 9.

Among the soldiers' epitaphs found there, is one of a certain T. F. Fl. Cersilochus, who had presented to him by one of the three Flavian emperors the donatus civitate viritum, carrying with it the right of citizenship and entry to the Quirina tribe, which was that of Vespasian; and on his entry doubtless Cersilochus took the name of Flavius. Cersilochus, a Syrian, would naturally be animated with hatred of the Jews for their cruelty to his compatriots, and we are justified in concluding he earned his honours in the Jewish war, probably being an inhabitant of Gerash who escaped the massacre, for his name appears in a second Gerasa inscription, a dedication to Artemis.

His military memorial reads, with expansions:

Τίτον Φλαούιον Φλάχχον Φλάχχου υἱὸν χαὶ Υγεινον [Κυ]ρίνα] Κερσίλοχον Δημήτριος ὁ καὶ Διφιλος Δημητρίος εὐνοίος χάριν.[26]

Of the other texts from Gerasa one of them is certainly of a soldier in the Ala I Thracum Augusta, and the other almost certainly of a comrade in the same squadron, which evidently took part in Vespasian's attack on the city:

"Jul . . . Val . . . Tenes optio Ala I Thracum Augustae."[27]

The second is of Flavius Macer, and omits his corps:

(Ὑπὲρ τῆς . . . .) Σεβαστ(ῶν) σωτηρίας Φλαούιος Μακερ(. . . . . τ)ὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τῇ πατρίδι ἀνέθηχεν.[28]

The following text was found at Iader in Dalmatia:

Q. Raecco Q. f. Cl Rufo, p. p Leg XII Fulm(inata) trecenario donis don ab Imp(erator) Vespasian et Tito Imp(erator) bell(o) Iud(aico), ab Imp. Trai bell(o) Dacic(o), princ(ipi) praet(orii), Trebia M. f. Procul, Marito t. p. i.[29]

In addition to these epigraphical texts, a passing reference may be made to the inscriptions upon the coins of Vespasian and Titus, such as "*Ἰουδαίας εαλωκυίας*," "Judaea devicta" and "Judaea Capta." There also are Greek coins with ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ, and money was struck to commemorate the destruction of the Jewish pirates at Joppa, with the legend IVDAEA NAVALIS, and for the naval victory on the sea of Gennesareth, VICTORIA NAVALIS.[30]

[26] M. Perdrizet reads Τ Φλ Φλάχχ(ον) Φλάχχον υἱὸν Κυ(ρίνα) Κερσίλοχου.
[27] G. Durand, *Rev. Biblique*, 1899, 9.
[28] *Revue Biblique*, 1900, p. 434.
[29] *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, III, 2917.
[30] *Bel. Jud.*, III, IX, 2; X, 9. Cohen, *Monnaies Imperiales*, I, 365.

There is one very curious text confirmatory of the statement of Josephus and Suetonius, that Vespasian compelled the conquered Jews to pay the annual two drachmas they had hitherto offered for the expense of the services of their temple, to the support of the shrine of the Capitoline Jupiter. The next memorial shows that it's subject, one Euschemon, was a collector of this payment in the time of some Flavian Emperor :

T. Flavio Aug. lib Euschemoni qui fuit ab epistulis item procurator ad capitularia Iudaeorum. Fecit Flavia Aphrodisia patrono et coniugi bene merenti.[31]

Tiberius Julius Lupus, spoken of by Josephus (*B.I.*, VII, 10), has an inscription in Egypt, of which he was Prefect (see De Ricci, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1900, 378. Josephus in Book VII, 4, 2, refers to Q Petillius Cerealis Caesius Rufus. In A.D. 74 he was consul with Eprius Marcellus, as shown by a military diploma found at Sikator in Pannonia, the closing lines of which document read :

Q PETILLIO CERIALE CAESIO RVFO II, T. CLODIO EPRIO MARCELLO II COS.[32]

In 1902 a seal was found at the ruins of el Qa'adeh, near the road leading down the Mount of Olives, which probably reads "(centurionis) Æmi(lii) Lici(n)iani M(arcus) Antoninus . . . Vale . . ."[33] This signet Père Vincent thinks was used to stamp the bread for a century, and so mentions the officers concerned in the superintendence of the rations. If so, it is another memorial of the legionaries at the siege, probably of the X Fretensis, which, in Josephus V, 2, 3, 4, and 5, is specially connected with the Mount of Olives.

[31] *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, VI, 8604.

[32] *Cor. Ins. Lat.*, III, p. 852 ; see *Borghesi*, IV 351, etc.

[33] Père Cré, who discovered the seal, suggests instead of Æmi(lii) Lici(n)iani, "Æmili Elhiakim," indicating Jewish auxiliaries with the legion. The reading of the inscription is difficult. *Revue Biblique*, 1902, 434, etc.

A PRE-MASSORETIC BIBLICAL PAPYRUS.

BY STANLEY A. COOK, *M.A.*

"The Received, or, as it is commonly called, the Massoretic Text of the Old Testament Scriptures has come down to us in manuscripts which are of no very great antiquity, and which all belong to the same family or recension. That other recensions were at one time in existence is probable from the variations in the Ancient Versions, the oldest of which, namely the Greek or Septuagint, was made, at least in part, some two centuries before the Christian era."[1] These words, from the Preface to the Revised Version of the Old Testament, give expression to the generally accepted view of all Biblical scholars, and the theory, based as it is upon a series of incontrovertible facts, at last seems to be completely justified by the unexpected discovery of a small fragment of one of these pre-Massoretic texts referred to. The welcome evidence in question appears in the shape of some pieces of papyrus which were acquired in Egypt,[2] and are now in the possession of Mr. W. L. Nash, *F.S.A.*, to whose kindness I am indebted for the opportunity of making a more or less complete study of them.

Hebrew papyri are exceedingly rare, and, until Steinschneider in 1879 published a few fragments from the collection of papyri in the Berlin Museum, none were known to exist.[3] These, according to

[1] The earliest dated MS. is the St. Petersburg codex with the superlinear points (A.D. 916), the British Museum Or. 4445, though undated, is judged to be somewhat older—"probably written about A.D. 820–850" (Ginsburg, *Introd. Heb. Bible*, 469). For other ancient MSS. see Gaster, *Proceedings*, XXII (1900), p. 230, Strack, Hastings' *DB*, IV, p. 728.

[2] The Greek fragments edited by Mr. F. C. Burkitt in the *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV, p. 290, were obtained at the same time.

[3] *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, XVII, pp. 93, *et seq.* (1879), *cf.* Tafel vii; Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, cols. 119–125 (St. Petersburg, 1882); Erman and Krebs, *Aus den Papyr. d. Königl. Mus.*, p. 290, and Tafel xxiii (Berlin, 1899).

Chwolson, may belong to the VIIth–VIIIth centuries. An Aramaic poem and a few other small fragments (among them one of the oldest specimens of Arabic in Hebrew letters), dating from the IXth century, were found in the collection of the Archduke Rainer,[1] and to the same period Dr. Schechter has ascribed a mutilated liturgical papyrus-codex now in the possession of the Cambridge University Library. A few fragments preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, complete the total of known Hebrew papyri, although it is of course not unlikely that other specimens exist elsewhere unedited, perhaps even unnoticed.[2] Interesting though the above-mentioned papyri are for one reason or another, they are eclipsed in point of age, palæography, and contents, by the one which forms the subject of the present paper.

The newly-discovered papyrus is in four pieces, the largest of which measures $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. × $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. It is perfect at the head, but mutilated at the foot and at both edges. The three remaining fragments are not independent, and the re-arrangement as shown in Plate I will, I think, sufficiently explain itself; it gives us, as the greatest measurement, 5 in. × $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. It being found impossible to take a photograph which would reproduce the written characters with sufficient legibility, Mr. F. C. Burkitt was kind enough to facsimile them. It must therefore be understood that the Plate is a reproduction of a photograph of the papyrus upon which the writing has been copied from the original with pen and ink. Mr. Burkitt's well-known palæographical skill guarantees the accuracy of the transcription, and in expressing my indebtedness to him I cannot help realising that had it not been for his assistance, the present article, without any adequate representation of the handwriting of the papyrus, would have suffered greatly.

It contains twenty-four lines of Hebrew, with probable traces of a twenty-fifth. Vowel-points, accents, and diacritical marks of any description are wanting; there are no signs to indicate verse-division, but the words are separated from one another by a space, and the final letters are regularly employed. The spacing, however, is irregular, and the words are sometimes run together; contrast lines 4 and 12, and note על כן (l. 15) written as one word. The

[1] *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung d. Erzherz. Rainer*, i, pp. 38–44 (1886).

[2] Chwolson (*op. cit.*, col. 121, n. 1) has an interesting allusion to some unknown Hebrew papyrus then (1882) in the possession of an Englishman.

papyrus is of a dark brown colour and is written only upon one side. It was, perhaps, originally a roll, and not a codex in book-form. On the palæography, see below, pp. 48 *sqq.*

On Plate II. will be found the text of the papyrus fully restored. Characters within brackets have been lost owing to the partial or total mutilation of the papyrus; those surmounted by a dot are either doubtful or almost illegible, or, when at the end or beginning of a mutilated portion, are partially wanting. The precise arrangement of the restored words is of course open to correction. It will be noticed that the nineteen lines of the largest fragment are of fairly uniform breadth, and contain from 19–23 letters (average 20·85), whilst at the most 223 are required to complete them (average 11·7).[1] From the small fragment which has fortunately preserved a portion of the right-hand margin (ll. 15–19), it is seen that six or seven letters have to be restored at the commencement of each line. We find here, also, that each line begins with a fresh word (ll. 15, 19, are no doubt certain), and it is actually possible to make nearly all the remaining lines begin with an undivided word, without going very far above or below the average number of letters required. The lines, it is true, end somewhat irregularly, but this is not unusual in early writings; only the length of line 1 and the commencement of line 5 are real stumbling-blocks (see the notes, p. 37 *sq.*).

The fragment distinguishes itself pre-eminently from all known papyri by reason of its contents. It contains the Decalogue and the Shema', but with remarkable divergences from the Massoretic Text; indeed, not only may it be asserted that no one MS. is known to contain so many variants in so short a space, but the majority of them are absolutely unique, and are to be found neither in the collations of a Kennicott or a De Rossi, nor in traditional notices of long-lost manuscripts.

In the notes that follow, some attention has been paid to the versions, although the collations do not claim to be complete. It is hoped, however, that they are sufficient to give the reader a clear idea of the relative value of the text. As regards the Decalogue, the text of Exodus (xx, 2–17), and *not* Deuteronomy (v, 6–21), is pre-

[1] The average number of letters on a line is therefore 32–3. For recent theories on this point, see L. Blau, *Studien z. althebr. Buchwesen*, pp. 128 *sqq.* (Strassburg, i. E., 1902.)

supposed throughout, unless stated to the contrary, but I leave the question open for the present as to which of the two recensions the papyrus really represents.[1]

Line 1.[2] Twenty-two letters are wanting between the end of line 1 and the commencement of line 2. This is considerably above the average number, and it is conceivable that the words מבית עבדים were omitted in the text. That these words are a later addition (from Deuteronomy) to the Exodus recension of the Decalogue is the view of such Old Testament critics as Wellhausen, Holzinger, and Baentsch. Aphraates (ed. Parisot, *Hom.* ii, col. 62), in a quotation, passes immediately from "land of Egypt" (Ex. xx, 2) to "thou shalt not make," etc. (*v.* 4), but this can scarcely be taken as conclusive evidence in support of the omission.[3]

Line 2. ע[ל פ]ני.[4] The restoration, "be[for]e me" (*cf.* *πρὸ προσώπου μου*, 𝔊^{B} in Deut.), is probable, and it is therefore unnecessary to conjecture a different reading (*e.g.*, עִמָּדִי) on the strength of 𝔊's *πλὴν ἐμοῦ* (BAFL, and AFL in Deut., *cf. praeter me, absque me* [Sabatier], בר מני [Targ., and similarly Pesh.][5].

[1] The following authorities have been consulted: For the Hebrew Massoretic Text (M.T.), the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi. The Septuagint (𝔊), Swete, the Lucianic recension (L, ed. Lagarde), and the collations of Holmes and Parsons. (𝔊 by itself designates the readings in Swete and the Lucianic recension.) The Old Latin, Sabatier and the Lyons Pentateuch (ed. Ul. Robert). The Samaritan Pentateuch, Walton, Blayney, and Kennicott's collations. The Samaritan Targum, Petermann. The Syriac-Hexaplar, Brit. Mus. Add. 12134 (ed. Lagarde). The Syriac Peshiṭta, Lee's text, supplemented by collations of old MSS. in the British Museum. The Targum Onkelos, Walton, Berliner; the Palestinian Targums, Walton, the *Maḥzor Vitry* (ed. Hurwitz, pp. 338 *sqq.*), and Brit. Mus., Add. 27031. The Arabic, Walton, Lagarde (*Materialien*).

[2] Above line 1 and midway between [י]הוה and אלהיך there appear to be traces of an א. They are not distinct enough, however, to enable one to speak with any degree of confidence. It should be mentioned that the actual width of the upper-margin (as also of that at the right-hand side) is $\frac{3}{8}$ inch.

[3] Mr. E. J. Pilcher ingeniously suggests that if the papyrus in its complete state were a Service-book, the omission of the words may be due to the fact that "the authorities of the Synagogue, living in the midst of a fanatical and turbulent population, may have considered it prudent to refrain from publicly describing their land of residence as a house of slaves," thus avoiding a phrase "which might be considered as casting an aspersion upon the country or its inhabitants."

[4] After I had made my copy, and before the photograph was taken, a minute particle of papyrus containing portions of the ם of אחרים and the ע following disappeared.

[5] The reading "with me" (ܥܡܝ) in Aphraates (col. 62) is not conclusive.

לוא *plene* throughout. According to the Massora, this spelling occurs thirty-five times in the O.T. תעבוד (l. 10) and תחמוד (l. 19 *sq.*) are both written *defectiva* in the M.T., elsewhere the text follows Exod., notably in יאריכון (l. 17), for which Deut. has יאריכן. It is well known that the scribes were allowed considerable latitude in the use of the *plene*, hence no inference as to date can be drawn from these spellings. From Kennicott's collations it appears that אבת (*v.* 5) is *plene* in thirty-two MSS. of Ex., and defective in three MSS. of Deut.; יאריכֶן is *plene* in a number of MSS. of Deut.; and the spellings תגנוב and תחמוד are found in Ex. in eleven and two MSS. respectively.

כל is restored at the end of the line in agreement with Deut. (v, 8) and a few MSS. of Ex. The reading וכל (in Ex.) is also read in Deut. by Hebrew MSS., Palest. Targ. (not Onkelos), Sam. (Pent. and Targ.), and Pesh.[1]

Line 5. Eleven letters only are wanting between ll. 4 and 5. Elsewhere at least six letters are required at the commencement of the line, and, since word-division does not seem to have been practised, it is possible that for תעבדם we should read תעבד (תעבוד) and restore אתם before כי.

אל קנוא. The M.T. in Ex. (xx, 5) and Deut. (v, 9) has קַנָּא (*cf.* also Ex. xxxiv, 14, Deut. iv, 24, vi, 15), but this form recurs in Josh. xxiv, 19, Nah. i, 2.

Line 6. על שלשים. This agrees with Ex. against Deut. (ועל ש׳). The Sam. (Pent. and Targ.), however, prefixes ו in the former, whilst the Targ., and several Heb. and Sam. MSS., omit it in the latter.

Line 7. מצותי. In Deut. (*v.* 10) מצות[י]ו, but 𝔊 Pesh. and Sam. Pent. agree with Ex.

Line 8. There does not appear to be room for the addition of אלהיך after יהוה, which is presupposed by 𝔊[B] in Ex., and 𝔊 [B a b mg. L] in Deut.

Line 9. ה[שמ]. See note on בה, l. 11.

זכור. So Ex., against שמור in Deut. (*v.* 12). On the possibility that Deut. originally read זכור, see below, p. 53. The

[1] It is worth adding, perhaps, that in Deut. (v, 8) Lee's omission of ܟܠ is a mistake, the reading ܟܠ, ܠܐܠܦ is found in every MS. that I have examined. In *v.* 7, too, all the old MSS. have ܠܐܠܦ ܘܥܕܐ.

reading of Sam. (Pent. and Targ.) in Ex. (טר,שמור) is conformed to Deut.

Line 10. תעבוד. See note on לוא, l. 2.

כל מלאכתך. There is no reason to suppose that the noun is in the plur. (𝔊 in Ex. and Deut. τὰ ἔργα σου).

[וביו]ם. The insertion of the preposition (contrast M.T. ויום השביעי) is found in a few Heb. MSS. and in the LXX of both Ex. and Deut., in O. Lat. of Deut., and in the Vulgate of Ex. only. The reading is justified by Ex xvi, 26, xxxi, 15, xxxv, 2, Lev. xxiii, 3, etc.

Line 11. The insertion of בה is supported by the Book of Jubilees (L, 7), 𝔖, O. Lat. (Sabatier, Robert), Vulg., Sam. (Pent. and Targ.), and Syr.-Hexaplar (with the obelus). It is wanting in M.T. (and elsewhere in parallel passages, *e.g.*, Deut. xvi, 8, Lev. xxiii, 3, 7, etc.; but constrast Ex. xxxv, 2, and Jer. xvii, 24), Targ., and old Syriac MSS., although in the printed editions of the Peshiṭta, and in MSS. from the VIIIth–IXth centuries onwards it has found a place, owing, doubtless, to the influence of the Septuagint.[1]

The suffix of the 3 S. m. is ה; *cf.* ה[שמ], l. 9. The suffix, on the other hand, is ו in ו[יש]ורו and חמרו (l. 21), and this interchange agrees admirably with O.T. usage, *e.g.*, Gen. xlix, 11 (סוּתֹה, עִירֹה, but אֲתֹנוֹ, לְבֻשׁוֹ); Deut. xxxiv, 7 (לֵחֹה, but קֹבְרָתוֹ, *v.* 6). The form is not confined to early writings (*cf.* Ezek. xxxi, 18, Nah. ii, 1), and is frequently emended by the Ḳĕrî to ו. The original pronunciation of this, the primitive form, was probably הֶ —, and its occurrence on this papyrus, corresponding, as it does, so closely with O.T. usage, is one of the many indications that this is a genuine Hebrew text, and not a later production.[2]

[1] From an examination of Syriac MSS. in the British Museum it appears that ܘܠܐ is omitted by Add. 14425 (the oldest dated Syriac Biblical MS., and the second oldest Syriac MS. of known date—A.D. 464), by two MSS. of the VIth century (Add. 14427, and Add. 14438, Deut.), by one of the VIIIth century (Add. 12133, Ex.). Two of the VIIth–VIIIth centuries read ܘܠܐ in Deut. only, and not in Ex. (Or. 4400, and the Milan Codex Ambrosianus). It is found in Rich. 7145 of the VIIIth—IXth centuries (Ex.), in the Cambridge "Buchanan Bible" (Oo. I, 1, end of XIIth century), in Rich. 7146 (XIVth–XVth centuries), and later MSS.

[2] *Cf.* פִּילַגְשֵׁהוּ, Judges xix, 24 (but פִּילַגְשׁוֹ *vv.* 2, 25), אַשְׁרֵהוּ, Prov. xxix, 18 (but עבדו, *v.* 21). ה recurs regularly on the Moabite Stone as a nominal and verbal suffix (*e.g.*, ארצה, ויחלפה).

That בה is not the feminine form is conclusively shown by the M.T. ויקדשהו in *v.* 11 (*cf.* also Deut. v, 12, Gen. ii, 3, Ex. xxxv, 2, Is. lvi, 2, 6).[1]

Line 12. The text agrees with Deut. against Ex. (עבדך ואמתך ובהמתך), but the fuller reading is presupposed by 𝔊 in Ex., although the only Hebrew support seems to be the addition of ושורך וחמרך (one MS. cited by De Rossi), and וכל בהמתך (one MS. cited by Kenn.). The ו is prefixed to עבדך in agreement with Deut. (omitted by some MSS., 𝔊, and Sam. Pent. and Targ.), and several MSS. in Ex.

The general agreement of the text of this commandment with Ex. is seen from the presence of Ex. xx, 11, and the omission of Deut. v, 15, and the closing words of *v.* 14. For the view that the text in Deut. was originally simpler, see below, p. 53, and note that 𝔊 B (but not B^ab AFL or Old Lat.) has inserted in *v.* 14 : *ἐν γὰρ ἓξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν Κύριος τόν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς*, and that BAFL adds at the end *καὶ ἁγιάζειν αὐτήν.*

Line 14. The reading את היום (𝔊 B omits) is supported by the great majority of MSS. ו is prefixed in a small number, and is found in 𝔊 B ab mg. AFL (and 𝔊 B in Deut.), Palest. Targ. (not Onk.), Pesh., Sam. (Pent. and Targ.), Vulg., Ar.

That the small fragment containing the beginning of ll. 15–19 is correctly restored seems obvious from the result. The edges do not fit with precision, but this is hardly to be wondered at since the papyrus has suffered considerable wear and tear.[2]

Line 15. The indications favour [ביום] וינח. The lower part of the ו is distinct, and the apparent trace of a final ם points to the ligature נח (of which only the נ and the right hand leg of the ח are preserved). The ligature would exactly resemble נת in l. 18.

Line 16. השביעי is scarcely doubtful, and it is absolutely certain at all events that it cannot be read השבת, as in Ex.

[1] The sing. שַׁבָּת is fem. in Ex. xxxi, 14, Lev. xxiii, 3, xxv, 6 (with הִוא), xvi, 31 (with הִיא, but xxiii, 32, with הוא); in Jer. xvii, 24, with בה kĕthîb (but בו kĕrî).

[2] I may remark that before I succeeded in determining the contents and position of this fragment, the restoration of the words between [אמ]ך (l. 16) and למען (l. 17) caused great difficulty. Some ten or more letters had to be supplied, and the only resource seemed to be to insert כאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך (Deut. v, 16), which was too long.

xx. 11*b*. The reading agrees with Gen. ii, 3, upon which the verse may have been based, and is presupposed by 𝔊, Pesh., and Ar.[1]

ויקדשיו. Formerly read by me as ויקדשה, although the horizontal stroke of the pre-supposed ה was not to be seen. Mr. Burkitt points out that the slope of the two strokes is quite different from that of the ה in the papyrus, and reads ויקדשיו, which I accept as correct. As he justly remarks, a suffix which has become ֵהוּ in the conventional Hebrew of the M.T., may very well have assumed sometimes the form ֵיו.[2]

Line 17. The letters ייט at the commencement of the line are particularly distinct, and eventually gave the clue to the position of the smaller fragment.

The text of the commandment differs more markedly from Ex. xx, 12, than Deut. v, 16. On the other hand, Deut.'s כאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך (omitted by four MSS.) is here wanting, and the arrangement agrees with 𝔊 (in Ex. and Deut.),[3] O. Lat. (Sabatier and Robert [Deut.]), Ephes. vi, 2, and Philo.[4] The superiority of the new reading is shown by the general agreement of the order with other Deuteronomic passages (see Deut. xxii, 7, and *cf.* iv, 40, v, 30 [33]); but contrast Deut. vi, 2 *sq.*

[1] The Syr. Hex. gives the reading without mark or comment. It is found also in Aphraates (Hom. xiii, col. 541). The Brit. Mus. Or. 4400 reads ܡܪܝܐ for ܐܠܗܐ, and with this agrees Add. 14425 (on the MS., see above, p. 39, n. 1), which stands alone in following the M.T., ܠܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ. These two MSS. and Add. 12133 agree in making Deut. v, 11 the *second* commandment (so 𝔊^A, St. Augustine, and others). [The more modern Cambridge S. Indian Syr. MSS., Oo., I, 26 and 27 have adopted the same division, but vary in the second half, partly through error.]

[2] The form of the suffix can be paralleled, and the Rev. R. H. Kennett, of Queens' College, Cambridge, to whom I applied for information, informs me that he has always held that the suffix in the Syr. ܢܩܛܠܝܘܗܝ is contained in the ܝܘ, and that the silent ܗܝ, which was probably never pronounced, may be merely an orthographical convention. He adds, however, that no doubt the Hebrew originally possessed many grammatical forms ignored by the Massora, but it would be precarious to postulate the existence of any such form unless traces of it could be found in the *Kĕthîb*. Unless י is here a consonant, it is also possible to suppose a contraction of ֵהוּ, with the omission of ה (as in עזיו, שבניו, on Heb. seals for עזיהו, שבניהו), and with י plene (as in שָׁלֵיו, Job xxi, 23).

[3] "That it may go well with thee," is omitted by 𝔊^A in Ex., and by three Heb. and Sam. MSS. in Deut.

[4] Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture, ad loc.* (London, 1895).

יַאֲרִיכוּן. Defective in Deut., but see above on לוא, l. 2. האדמה הטובה is read by 𝔊 (Ex. only), Pesh. and Ar.[1] (Deut. only), but there was scarcely room for it on the papyrus.

Line 18. The order (*a*) adultery, (*b*) murder, (*c*) steal, is found in Ex., only in Holmes and Parsons, nos. 14, 16, 30, 57, 73, 75, 77, 78, 130, 136. 𝔊^{AFL} agrees with the M.T. in the order *b*, *a*, *c*; 𝔊^{B} alone has *a*, *c*, *b*. Yet another arrangement (*b*, *c*, *a*) appears in Brit. Mus. Rich., 7146, a Syriac (Jacobite) MS. of the XIVth–XVth centuries—probably an error. In Deut., 𝔊^{AF} agrees with M.T. (*b*, *a*, *c*), but the above order (*a*, *b*, *c*) is found in 𝔊^{BL} and in Holmes and Parsons, nos. 19, 44, 54, 74, 75, 76, 106, 108, 118, 134. The Septuagint support is therefore stronger in Deut. than in Ex.

The usual, or Massoretic order, is found in Josephus (second half of first century, A.D.), Mt. xix, 18, the *Didaché* (first half of second century),[2] and became fixed at an early date. On the other hand, the above order is supported by Romans xiii, 9, Jas. ii, 11, Mk. x, 19 (A.V.), Lk. xviii, 20,[3] Philo (see Ryle, *ad. loc.*), Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus of Portus, Ambrosiaster, and others.[4]

In the omission of the conjunction in ll. 18 and 19, the text agrees with Ex. (also 𝔊 Sam. Pent. in Deut.) against Deut. M.T.

Line 19. The reading שָׁוְא agrees with Deut. (*v.* 20) against שֶׁקֶר, Ex. (*v.* 16). 𝔊's ψευδῆ in both, though not conclusive, favours שֶׁקֶר, which is read by several Heb. MSS. even in Deut. (presupposed also by Targ. Onk., and O. Lat.). Of the two readings Holzinger prefers שקר as the more concrete term, and, pointing to *v.* 7 (𝔊 ἐπὶ ματαίῳ), observes that in so short a passage as the Decalogue, שוא would hardly have been used in two different senses. On the whole, it is more probable that שקר "has been

[1] See Lagarde, *Materialien* (Leipzig, 1867). The same text has a curious omission in Ex. xx, 12, reading: "honour thy father and thy mother that thy life may be long which the Lord thy God giveth thee." The Syr. MS., Brit. Mus., Or. 4400, stands alone (so far as I know) in reading ܢܬܩܝܡ ܡܛܠ.

[2] Probably, as Mr. Burkitt informs me, under the direct influence of Mt. xix, 18.

[3] Contrast Vulg. and Pesh. in Luke, the Sinaitic palimpsest in Mark (*cf.* R.V.), and the parallel Matt. xix, 18. (For this arrangement, *cf.* also 𝔊's treatment of Jer. vii, 9.) Aphraates (col. 546), who merely mentions adultery before murder, elsewhere (col. 837) gives the order: covet, murder, adultery. Here, as in the case of l. 1, his evidence is not conclusive.

[4] See the commentaries *ad. loc.*, and *cf.* Geffcken, *Ueber d. verschiedene Eintheilung d. Decalogus* (Hamburg, 1838), who cites also the Frisian church (p. 201 *sq.*).

substituted in Ex. xx, 16, to remove all doubt about the sense" (Addis)—the more difficult reading is the older (*cf.* also Baentsch).

Lines 20 *sq.* The smaller fragment (the readings are not very easy) contains portions of l. 20 *sq.*, and joins on fairly well to the larger. Traces of ש in אשר (l. 21) appear on both. The precise arrangement of the two pieces under the large fragment is indicated by the amount of space required for the restoration of l. 23 *sq.*[1]

From the text as restored it will appear that it agrees with Deut. v. 18[21] against Ex. xx. 17, in the mention of אשת before בית. Apart from a few MSS. which read the reverse in both, the reading in Deut. is presupposed by 𝔊 in Ex. The insertion of שדהו also characterises Deut., although it is found in 𝔊, Sam. (Pent., and Targ.), and in a few Heb. MSS. in Ex. On the other hand, instead of the repetition of תחמוד (on the spelling see above, l. 2), Deut. supplies a new verb (תתאוה), although again in this it is not followed by the Sam. (Pent. and Targ.), the Palest. Targum (not Onkelos), 𝔊, and Old Lat. Mr. Burkitt, however, is convinced that תתאוה is actually the reading of the papyrus. The א, which he finds, is far from clear, and if תחמוד is correct, the last two characters are not very intelligible. Both readings are difficult.[2]

The את before ב[ו]ת (l. 20) is a novelty, and it is also to be restored presumably at the end of l. 19. The number of missing letters is then brought up to the average. As regards the words restored in l. 21, some Heb. MSS. omit ו before עבדו, and the reading וישורו (with ו) is found only in Ex., but is presupposed by 𝔊, Pesh. in Deut. Further, in Deut., all MSS. of Pesh. insert "vineyard" after "field," with the exception of Add. 14425, where, too, "servant" and "maid-servant" are transposed. 𝔊, in both, adds *οὔτε παντός κτήνους* (*σκεύους* L. in Ex.) *αὐτοῦ*, a secondary element probably derived from the fourth commandment. An analogy to this appears in 𝔊[BabL]s *καὶ τὸ ὑποζύγιον αὐτοῦ* (Deut. v, 14*b*).[3]

Line 22. The Decalogue is followed by the Shema' (Deut. vi,

[1] They should probably come a little more to the left of the larger fragment, and not immediately under it as on Plate I.

[2] Vulg. in Ex. *non concupisces . . . nec desiderabis*, in Deut. only the former once. As regards usage, the verb תתאוה, in fact, was to be expected with אשת rather than with בית.

[3] On such multiplication of details in the Decalogue, particularly in the fourth commandment, see Geiger, *Urschrift u. Uebersetzung*, p. 466.

4, *sq.*), to which is prefixed an introductory clause no longer preserved in the M.T. 𝔊's version of Deut. vi, 4 reads :—*Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δικαίωματα καὶ τὰ κρίματα ὅσα ἐνετείλατο Κύριος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσράηλ, ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἄκουε, Ἰσραήλ· Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος εἷς ἐστιν.* The verse is fortunately preserved also in the Lyons Old Latin codex, which reads *Moyses* for *Κύριος* (in agreement with 𝔊$^{B^{*vidF}}$ and several MSS. cited by Holmes and Parsons), and *DS̄ Tuus DN̄S̄ unus est* for *ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.* Obviously the readings *Κύριος* and *ἡμῶν* are mutually inconsistent, and it may be conjectured that the subject to the verb "commanded" was originally unexpressed.

The reading והמשפטים וגו׳ is perfectly clear, and the LXX and O. Lat. require us to see in the preceding characters, which are somewhat indistinct, ים[החק]. The difficulty lies in the identification of the second character with the desiderated ם, which would here have an unusual form. In view of what is said below regarding the palæography of the papyrus the reading of the oldest version may be accepted with confidence.

Line 23. The last letter in בצאתם is slightly doubtful, owing to the disappearance of the lower horizontal stroke. The alternative, בצאתה, is difficult on account of the form of the ה, and on grammatical grounds.

Line 24. It will be noticed that the ד in אחד is not a majuscule, and it is highly probable that the ע of שמע in l. 23 was also of the ordinary size. The Shema', too, is not written on one line as old tradition required. The addition of הוא after אחד is remarkable, and finds no support in Heb. MSS., in the Sam., or Targ.[1]

[Line 25.] At the extreme foot of the papyrus there is a small vertical stroke which is doubtless the top of an ל. This, it may be conjectured, belongs to אלהיך. The position of the stroke underneath, and midway between יהוה and אלהינו, agrees well, as the restoration shows, with the average number of letters on each line. Mr. Burkitt finds traces of two other *lameds* which, from their position, must presuppose בכל לבבך.

[1] It is worth adding than on a Hebrew inscription from Palmyra (see below, pp. 49, 51, and col. 10 on Plate of Alphabets), containing the Shema', the divine name is always replaced by אדוני. This is not later than the 3rd century (see *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, IV [1902], p. 203 *sq.*).

This introduction to the Shema' bears every appearance of genuineness. It is not easy otherwise to account for 𝔊's reading, since the nearest parallel, Deut. iv, 45, is not sufficiently close to suggest that the Septuagint translator has merely borrowed.[1] On the assumption that the introduction originally formed part of the Hebrew text, how is one to account for its omission? Two explanations may be hazarded. In the first place, without entering into a discussion of the literary analysis of this portion of Deut., it is conceivable that the introduction was omitted, partly to avoid any break in the continuity, and partly because an introduction was already contained in iv, 44, *sq.*, or, better, in vi, 1.[2]

In the second place, the Palestinian Targums insert before the Shema' a Haggadic anecdote ascribing the origin of the famous words in *v.* 4 to the sons of Jacob. When one remembers the importance attached to the Shema' from the earliest times,[3] and recalls the tendency, fully exemplified in the Pharaisaic Book of Jubilees, to thrust back laws and institutions to pre-Mosaic times, it is not a difficult conjecture that the introduction, conflicting as it did with the Haggadah of the time, was dropped either before or at the formation of the Massoretic text.

From the above notes it will be seen that where the Hebrew text agrees with Deut. against Ex., it has the support of the Septuagint version of Ex., and where it has independent readings of its own, it is supported, in the first instance, by the LXX (and O. Lat.), and, to a much less degree, by the other versions. Most convincing of all is the introduction to the Shema'. But there is no good reason on this account to doubt that the fragment is a genuine Biblical text. It is known that the Hebrew Pentateuch was read in Egypt at least from the time of the writer of the Letter of Aristeas down to

[1] Suggested by Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 332. The verse runs: "These are the testimonies and the statutes and the judgements (the third term is omitted by B*) which Moses spake unto (so BAL, but F "commanded") the children of Israel (AL inserts "in the wilderness") when they went from (𝔊 inserts "the land of") Egypt."

[2] A title is undoubtedly helpful, and some critics have even supposed that vi, 1 once stood nearer to *v.* 4 than it does now (see *The Hexateuch*, ed. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, London, 1900, vol. II, *ad loc.*).

[3] See Blau's interesting paper: "Origine et Histoire de la lecture du Schema," *Rev. d'Et. Juives*, xxxi (1895), pp. 179 *sqq.*, especially p. 183, *note*, where there are references to other Rabbinical writings in which the above-mentioned tradition reappears.

Justinian's day,[1] and it is inconceivable that a Hebrew-speaking Jew should have required a retranslation from a version such as the Septuagint. Further, the evidence shows that the text agrees, now with BFL against A, now with BAF against L, etc., so that no particular MS. or recension is represented to the exclusion of others.[2]

Finally, in a translation from the Greek, one would not only have expected to find words corresponding to *οὔτε παντὸς κτήνους αὐτοῦ* (l. 21), etc., but literal renderings might be expected in the case of *ἐν γὰρ ἓξ ἡμέραις* (*v.* 11, l. 13), and *ἵνα μακροχρόνιος γένῃ* (*v.* 12, l. 17) The addition of הוא in the Shema' is not necessarily to be regarded as based upon the LXX. It is equally difficult to suppose that the text is dependent upon any other version : the Sam., Pesh., and Targ. agree too closely with the M.T., and the absence of the distinctive interpolations after the Decalogue precludes the first mentioned. It may, therefore, be taken for granted that the papyrus is a genuine Hebrew text.[3]

This being assumed, it follows that we have to do with a Hebrew Biblical fragment which differs more widely from the M.T. than any known MS. It is important to observe that these readings are so consistently supported by the Septuagint that they clearly cannot be regarded as due to the imagination or defective memory of a scribe, nor may we suppose (comparing Josephus, *Antiquities*, iii, 5, § 4, end) that they are a deliberate alteration from superstitious motives (*οὐ θεμίτον . . . λέγειν φανερῶς πρὸς λέξιν*). Only one explanation seems possible. The scrupulous fidelity in the preservation and correct transmission of the Old Testament dates only from a certain period. It is due to this care that the consonantal text has remained virtually unchanged during the last seventeen hundred years, and that we can trace it back through the oldest manuscripts to the Vulgate, the Targums, the translation of Aquila, and the Mishna. But a critical and unbiassed study of such *earlier and independent* writings as the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Book of

[1] *Cf.* for Aristeas, Kautsch, *Pseudepigr.*, ii, 7 § 20 ; Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 525, and for Justinian, *Novell.* cxlvi, cited by Schürer, *G.J.V.*, 3rd ed., vol. iii, p. 95, n. 76 [Engl. trans., Div. ii, vol. 2, p. 285, n. 217].

[2] Perhaps it comes nearest to B's text of Deut. (see below, p. 53). At all events it has no close relationship with Hesychian texts.

[3] Had the text merely copied or imitated any of the versions, it would assuredly have presented those blemishes which here and there obscure certain of the Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus.

Jubilees, etc., forces the conviction that the text has not always been in the fixed state in which it has come down to us, and has led to the commonly accepted opinion that the "Massoretic" text is but a stage, and that almost the latest one, in the history of the Old Testament text.[1] The fixing of the text of the Koran by the Caliph Othman, and of the Rig-Vedas by a school of scribes in the 5th century B.C., are analogies that will occur to every one. This view, as I have already remarked, is accepted by the great mass of Biblical scholars, and is duly stated by the cautious and sober band of critics who prepared the Revised Version of the Old Testament, in the words cited at the head of the present article. It has been so frequently enunciated, and by more competent writers than myself, that further remarks of mine are unnecessary.[2] But it is not denied that, whatever be the date of the formation of this recension, MSS., in Palestine at least, may have been gradually undergoing a process of conformation one with another, and if, as the scanty evidence suggests, the labours of the scribes were not conducted upon the critical principles that would be employed to-day by the editor of a text,[3] it is not suggested that the text was at all freely altered from polemical or other reasons. Cautious criticism, grateful for the welcome light which the Septuagint and other versions frequently shed upon obscure or corrupt passages in the M.T., willingly recognises that the M.T. most nearly represents the earliest form in which

[1] The term "Massoretic" text is, strictly speaking, incorrect. It was the *sôphĕrîm* (scribes) who were the revisers and redactors of the canonical text. The Massoretes came later. These were the "authoritative custodians of the traditionally transmitted text . . . their province was to safeguard the text delivered to them by 'building a hedge around it,' to protect it against alterations, or the adoption of any readings which still survived in manuscripts or were exhibited in the ancient versions" (Ginsburg, *Introd. to Hebrew Bible*, p. 421). To them is due the introduction of vowel-points and accents.

[2] See Derenbourg, *L'Histoire de la Palestine* (1867), pp. 299 *sqq.*; Nöldeke, *Die Alttestament. Literatur* (1868), pp. 240 *sqq.*; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel* (1890), pp. xxxvi *sqq.*; Kirkpatrick, *Divine Library of O.T.* (1891), pp. 51 *sqq.*; Robertson Smith, *Old Test. in Jewish Church* (1892), pp. 62 *sqq.*, 82 *sqq.*; Wellhausen-Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Test.* (1893), pp. 576 *sqq.*; Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Germ. by Budde, 1894), pp. 82 *sqq.*; W. H. Bennett, *Primer of the Bible* (1897), pp. 123 *sqq.*; T. H. Weir, *History of the Hebrew Text of O.T.* (1899), p. 70 *sq.*; Briggs, *Introd. to Study of Holy Scripture* (1899), pp. 174 *sqq.*; "Text of the O.T." by Strack, in Hastings' *DB*; "Text and Versions" by Burkitt in *Encycl. Biblica*. The list might easily be enlarged, but the above references are fairly representative.

[3] See Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 65 *sq.*

the books were first written down, and that, "*on the whole* the purer text was undoubtedly preserved by the Jews."[1]

If the claim that this papyrus represents a pre-Massoretic form of the Hebrew text be justified, it does not necessarily follow that the fragment is chronologically pre-Massoretic. It is not improbable that private MSS., or MSS. not strictly Jewish, were copied and perpetuated in Egypt years after the M.T. had been adopted in Palestine, although it will be readily understood that a time would come when all variant texts of this character would fall into disuse. How long such texts continued, and to what extent they were used, it is difficult to decide.[2]

Should it so happen that among the hundreds of Geniza fragments there should be found Biblical passages with noteworthy variants from the *textus receptus*, it will be necessary to determine whether they are based upon a sound and ancient tradition, or whether they admit of another explanation (*e.g.*, scribe's errors, etc.). It is the fact that the readings in the papyrus find *authoritative support* that gives them their value. Were they absolutely without a parallel in the ancient versions they might not unjustifiably be regarded with suspicion.

I have intentionally emphasized the fact that the papyrus is not necessarily pre-Massoretic in point of view of date, in order that the palæographical evidence may now be examined without any preconceived view one way or the other.

On Plate III will be found a comparative table of alphabets illustrating the relation of the handwriting on the papyrus (col. 5) to other allied forms.[3] As in the history of Greek writing, the palæography of Hebrew papyri should perhaps form a department by itself. Unfortunately, with the sole exception of the fragments now under discussion, there is nothing between the Egyptian-Aramaic papyri (col. 1), the latest of which may belong to the Ptolemaic period, and the Berlin specimens (col. 11), ascribed to the VIIth—VIIIth centuries of this era (see p. 34 *sq.* above). The new papyrus

[1] Driver, *Heb. Text of Samuel*, p. xxxix; *cf.* Burkitt, "Text and Versions," § 66, *Encycl. Biblica*, Vol. IV (1903); Kirkpatrick, *Divine Library of O.T.*, pp. 80 *sqq.*

[2] See Strack, *Semitic Studies in Memory of Kohut* (Berlin, 1897), p. 571.

[3] With the exception of col. 5, the alphabets are taken or compiled from Euting's fine table in Chwolson's *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, and from Lidzbarski's *Handbuch. d. Nordsemit. Epigraphik*, Pt. II, *tafeln*, and art. "Alphabet" in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I.

comes between these two extremes, and to determine its date more nearly recourse must be had to other epigraphical remains, the date of which, however, is often not known with certainty. The forms upon the Palmyrene (col. 2 monumental, col. 3 cursive character) and Nabatæan (col. 4) inscriptions date from the Christian era (or just before it), and go down to the IIIrd and IVth century A.D. The Palestinian ossuaries (col. 6) range perhaps from 100 B.C.–100 A.D. The inscriptions from Gezer (col. 7), the Běnê Ḥězîr inscription and that of Queen Ṣadda (col. 8), are of the same period. The close of the transitional stage is illustrated by inscriptions from Kefr Bir'im (col. 9), and Palmyra (col. 10), where the "square character" is finally settled; both are probably not later than 300 A.D. Lastly, col. 12 exhibits the alphabet of the oldest dated Biblical MS. (916 A.D.), which is merely included for its interest on that account.

Plate I. with Mr. Burkitt's facsimile shows the form of the writing so clearly and accurately that it only remains for me to draw attention to certain peculiarities. The writing is certainly cursive, but quite distinct from the running hand found upon Babylonian bowls, the Berlin papyri (col. 11), and the later Rabbinical forms.[1] There are no traces of "crowned letters"; these "little zayins," which ornamented the heads of ש ץ ע נ ט ז ג, already appear in the Berlin papyri, and are mentioned as obligatory in the Talmud (*Men.* 29*b*).[2] The five final letters occur regularly. A final ן is found on the Běnê Ḥězîr inscription, final ם, ן and ף on Palestinian ossuaries, but the מ in תחם גזר (Gezer boundary-stone) is not final. When these double forms were first regularly used in Hebrew is not positively known. A close inspection of the papyrus shows that ligatures—omitting all doubtful cases—are unusually common. A few examples are found on the Běnê Ḥězîr and Ṣadda inscriptions, on Palestinian ossuaries, and the Berlin papyri. With these exceptions,

[1] *Cf.* Lidzbarski, *Jewish Encycl.*, p. 453, Pl. V. Mr. Burkitt further points out to me that in the "Rabbinic it is ב which has the broken-backed form and not כ as in the papyrus . . . the papyrus script has nothing to do with the later Rabbinic any more than papyrus Greek *cursive* of the first century has to do with the mediæval *minuscule.*" A superficial resemblance, therefore, is no argument against the antiquity of the papyrus. Even as regards the older Egyptian-Aramaic, Lidzbarski (*op. cit.*, p. 442*b*) notes "the astonishing fact that not only the general features of the script are much like the cursive Hebrew of the Middle Ages, but that many of the signs taken by themselves are absolutely identical."

[2] Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 445*a*.

ligatures are very rare in Hebrew, even in the cursive writing, but, on the other hand, they often occur in Palmyrene, and are frequent in Nabatæan and Sinaitic inscriptions.

The form of the Tetragrammaton comes nearer to that which the early Hexaplaric translators represent by ΠΙΠΙ, than to the more archaic ᗷ ᗷ ᗷ ᗷ, recently recovered from a fragment of Aquila.[1] The former represents the true "square character" of Aramaic origin, introduced not earlier than the IInd century B.C., whilst the latter is a lineal descendant of the script on the Siloam inscription, and finds its nearest parallels on the coins of Antigonus and Simon han-Nâsî.[2]

As regards the individual letters, א is of various forms and sizes. Most remarkable is the turning in of the left leg, of which only faint traces were hitherto known in Hebrew (cols. 7 and 10). The closely-related Nabatæan form (col. 4) is not common, and belongs to an inscription of B.C. 1; it is also found once or twice in the Sinaitic graffiti. The second Nabatæan example is the usual final form, and resembles the ornamental Palmyrene (col. 2). Here, however, the bend is less marked.

ה. The various positions of the left-hand stroke are noteworthy. The closest analogies are in Egyptian-Aramaic (col. 1), and Palm. (col. 2, the best examples are of B.C. 9 and A.D. 188). On the papyrus it is clearly in the transitional stage, but it has not yet attained the shape (resembling a ח and the Greek Π) which is regularly found on all Hebrew inscriptions.

ט is closed in l. 17, but open in l. 22. For the former, the older form of the letter, the only analogies in Nabatæan inscriptions are not later than 55 A.D., but it is frequent in Sinaitic and regular in Syriac.

כ. The "broken-backed" form is common in Nab. and Pal., but has only left the merest traces in Palest. ossuaries and the Ṣadda inscr. (cols. 6, 8).

ל. The occasional smallness of the lower part of ל, and its not infrequent elevation above the line, find a parallel in the Bĕnê

[1] F. C. Burkitt, *Fragments . . . of Aquila from a MS. formerly in the Geniza at Cairo* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 15 *sq.*

[2] (For the ' *cf.* also Clermont-Ganneau, *Sceaux*, Nos. 11 (אבשדי, written *boustrophêdon*), and 44 (אליעם). These, and allied forms of old Hebrew (illustrated in the *Proceedings*, XIX [1897], p. 172, plate II), existed side by side with the "square character" down to the IInd cent. A.D.)

Ḥĕzîr, and Ṣadda inscr.[1] In that of Kefr Bir'im, the later regular form and position are well established.

מ. The final form is not always closed. This is also the case in some early Hebrew inscriptions (col. 10, *cf. P.E.F.Q.*, 1900, pp. 112 *sq.*, 117), where, however, the opening is at the top left-hand corner.

פ. For the form *cf.* cols. 6, 8, and *P.E.F.Q.*, 1900, p. 114. The final ף has a form between the Palest. ossuaries and the Kefr Bir'im inscr.

ק. With the smallness of the tail, *cf.* the cursive Palmyrene (col. 3), and the Babylonian bowls (Chwolson, *Table*, cols. 53, 57).

ת. The left-hand stroke often turns up and forms a loop. This form, though regular in Syriac, is found rarely in Nab. (col. 4, A.D. 55). The less angular shape represented there is Sinaitic.

From the above it would appear that the writing is an early form of the Hebrew in the transitional stage from the ancestral Aramaic to the settled "square character" of the Kefr Bir'im and Palmyra inscr. (not later than 273 A.D.). Some of the letters have Aramaic characteristics of which only the merest traces are to be found in the earliest Hebrew inscriptions. The closest Hebrew analogies are the Palest. ossuaries and the Bĕnê Ḥĕzîr inscr. In view of the presence of the final letters, we can scarcely date the papyrus before the end of the first century, and, on other grounds, it can hardly be brought down later than the third. Taking everything into consideration, it may be concluded that the palæography safely allows us to ascribe it to the second century of this era, and that (if a more precise date may be ventured) the first quarter of that century would be the most probable date in view of the characteristic features of the text. If this script were a lineal descendant of that found upon Egyptian-Aramaic, sufficient time would have to be allowed for the development of א, ב, ל, מ, צ, ת (col. 1). But it is unnecessary to assume that the writing of each separate group is the descendant of that which may chronologically precede it.[2] The Nabatæan and Palmyrene are distinct, though contemporary, branches, and neither is immediately descended from the earlier

[1] *Cf.* also *P.E.F.Q.*, 1900, p. 112, No. 7 (Euting, *Epig. Miscell.*, I., p. 13, No. 52).

[2] It is, perhaps, precarious to argue from the wording in the letter of Aristeas that the writing of the Palestinian Jews was regarded as quite distinct, not only from the native Egyptian—which is obvious—but also from the Egyptian-Aramaic script, which would no doubt be well-known to the librarian Demetrius (Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 520, ll. 25 *sqq.*; p. 525, l. 3 *sq.*; Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, II, p. 5, § 11; p. 7, § 30). But the language is obscure, and the first of the two passages is probably not free from glosses.

Aramaic inscr. of N. Arabia or Egypt. All that can be said is that the Nabatæan, Palmyrene, Hebrew, and Syriac are closely related sister alphabets, derived from Aramaic forms current in Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia in the IVth—IInd cent. B.C. Had we Aramaic inscr. *from Palestine* of that period, we should doubtless be able to determine the relationship and development of the several forms more clearly.[1]

From what has been said (see p. 47 *sq.*) it will be readily understood that because the papyrus represents a pre-Massoretic form of the text, it is not to be regarded as necessarily perfect or correct in every detail. Future investigation must determine its precise value for the textual and literary criticism of the Biblical passages it contains. It would have been extremely interesting had the papyrus contained certain passages which in our M.T. are admittedly corrupt. The Septuagint and other versions frequently presuppose readings that differ from the M.T.; inspection shows that in a number of cases they do not appear to originate with the translator, that they are not due to a later tampering with the version, and that the superiority does not lie with the extant Hebrew. The textual critic accordingly concludes that the reading actually represents what the translator found before him, and that it is the Hebrew text that has suffered—though often the origin of the corruption may be wholly unknown. It happens, however, that the Biblical passages which the papyrus has preserved are free from mere textual corruption, and the new readings, whether superior or not, are of a distinctly literary type. It is to be noticed, also, that although many of the Septuagint readings now acquire an authority which they had not previously possessed, and are substantiated in the most welcome manner, sufficient remains to show that the Greek translator, in accordance with his custom (frequently noticed elsewhere), has not scrupled to make alterations or additions which are of no value, and for which, doubtless, there was never the slightest authority.

For the literary criticism of the Decalogue I venture to think that the papyrus is evidence of the most valuable character. The view is held by many critics that the Decalogue originally consisted of concise statements such as are now found in the VIth–IXth

[1] It may be added that the date ascribed to the papyrus receives some support, perhaps, from the appearance of the material, which, in the case of Greek papyri at least, is said not to be later than the IIIrd cent. It would also hold good if the conjecture that the papyrus was a roll, and not a codex, could be proved.

commandments (*cf.* also Josephus, *Antiquities*, iii, 5, § 5), in which case there may have been several recensions, differing from one another in the extent of their hortatory expansions. It is not easy to explain the present Massoretic form of the Exod. recension unless we assume that it has been influenced by Deut. (which in some respects presents better readings), and this view requires the further assumption that it existed in at least two forms—the second being that represented by the LXX. But this is not the place to discuss the relation between the two Massoretic forms. The fact remains that the papyrus comes midway between the two; it seems unnecessary to regard it as a third independent recension, and instead of treating it as a fuller form of Exod., I venture to decide that it represents a simpler form of Deut.

The chief arguments in support of this view are drawn from the variants in Hebrew MSS. of Deut., from the evidence of the versions (especially the Vatican MS. of the LXX), and from the opinion of critics regarding the secondary character of certain elements peculiar to the Deut. recension.

In the first place, the differences between the text of the papyrus and Deut., which refer to some half-dozen cases of the addition or omission of ו, or to the *scriptio plena*, need not be taken into account in view of the varying readings of MSS. cited by Kennicott and De Rossi. In the ninth commandment, the papyrus expressly agrees with Deut. In the tenth commandment, the view that Deut. originally repeated תחמוד finds support among the versions (see on l. 20, p. 43 above). On the fourth commandment, see the remarks on l. 12 (p. 40 above). It is admitted that Deut. v, 12 *b* is a secondary addition, and it is probable that this verse originally began with "remember," and that the alteration to "observe"—a favourite word in Deuteronomic passages—was effected when *v.* 15 ("and thou shalt remember," etc.) was inserted, in order to avoid tautology. Further, it is not improbable that Deut. originally had the words now found only in Exod. xx, 11, since not only does 𝔊 add at the end of *v.* 15: *καὶ ἁγιάζειν αὐτήν* (*cf.* ויקדשהו in Ex.), but the Vatican manuscript has also preserved in *v.* 14 the words "for in six days the Lord made both the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that in them is."[1]

[1] On the other hand, it is not to be ignored that the addition to *v.* 14 which is peculiar to Deut. is perhaps original; *cf.* the reason assigned by the earlier Elohistic writer in Ex. xxiii, 12.

Another point, that has direct bearing upon the view now under discussion, should not be overlooked. The Decalogue commences at the head of the column, and the restoration shows that it must have opened with the words "I am the Lord thy God." In both Ex. and Deut. the Decalogue starts a new section, but whereas the latter commences as mentioned above, Ex. has the introductory title "and God spake all these words, saying." It does not seem very likely that this was to be found at the foot of a preceding column,[1] although naturally there is not sufficient evidence in support of an argument either way. At all events the point is one to be borne in mind when considering the original purpose of the papyrus.

For the solution of this problem the evidence of the papyrus is hardly conclusive. It is very tempting to suppose that it formed part of a lectionary or collection of passages from the Torah, and the fact that the passages in question are Deut. v, 6–21 [18] (probably) and vi, 4 *sq.*, might even suggest a lectionary of Deuteronomy itself. In addition to this, there is the evidence in the Gospels that the Commandments and the Shema' were regarded as the most important rules of life and conduct.[2] We know that portions of the Law were copied out separately for children, since we learn that it was disputed whether the procedure was legal, and the majority of the Rabbis were against it. Children studied the Shema', but it was preceded not by the Decalogue but by the Hallel (Pss. cxiii–cxviii). Moreover, the usual school-books for beginners were Genesis and Leviticus, and R. Jehudah (about 150 A.D.) allowed only Gen. i–vi, 8 or Lev. i–viii to be copied.[3] It would seem, therefore, that the evidence does not favour the suggestion that the papyrus is a fragment of a lectionary.

The mere arrangement shows that a phylactery is out of the

[1] The title is preceded and followed by a closed section, but since these are not marked elsewhere in the papyrus, there would be no necessity to start a fresh line.

[2] Thus, the two great commandments are the Shema' and Lev. xix, 18*b* (Mk. xii, 29 *sqq.*, Mt. xxii, 36 *sqq.*). On other occasions when inquirers asked how to inherit eternal life, their attention is directed to (*a*) certain commandments (Mk. x, 19, Lk. xviii, 20), (*b*) *plus* Lev. xix, 18*b* (Mt. xix, 18 *sq.*), (*c*) Deut. vi, 5, and Lev. xix, 18*b* (Lk. x, 27). For the addition of Lev. xix, 18*b* to Dt. vi, 5 in early quotations, see Holmes and Parsons.

[3] Ludwig Blau, *Studien z. althebr. Buchwesen* (1902), p. 67 *seq.* But even a school-book had to be made from a correct copy (ספר מוגה, *Pes.* 112*a*, see Blau *op. cit.*, 187, n. 8).

question, and a recent suggestion that it was a magical charm can, perhaps, neither be proved nor disproved.

At first I was inclined to hold that it belonged to a liturgy. We know that at an early date the Ten Words were read along with the Shema' in the Daily Service, and that the usage was discontinued (on account of the cavilling of the *mînîm*) in spite of attempts to re-introduce it in Sura and Nehardea (Talm. *Berakhoth*, *f.* 11*b*).[1] It is questionable, however, whether one would expect to find the introduction to the Shema' in a liturgy, and without discussing Blau's conclusion that the Decalogue originally *followed* the Shema',[2] one may ask whether the Shema' would not have been preceded by those benedictions which go back beyond the IIIrd century A.D.[3] It is possible that evidence may be forthcoming that will remove these objections, and, moreover, it is quite conceivable that usage in Egypt may have differed from that in Palestine as regards both the liturgical use of the Shema' and the copying of passages from the Torah.[4]

One other suggestion may be hazarded. If the Decalogue is the Deuteronomic, it follows that we have a lacuna of fifteen verses from Deut. v, 21 [18] to vi, 4. Critics are agreed that the book of Deut. has not come down to us in its original form, and various opinions have been held as to the extent to which it has been edited and revised. No doubt, therefore, it may have existed in several forms, although it must be admitted that one form only—the present—obtained among the Jews of Palestine and of the Dispersion, and the Samaritans. But the curious remark of Demetrius to Ptolemy in the Letter of Aristeas clearly shows that incorrect copies of the Law were extant in Egypt in the writer's day,[5] and there is no reason

[1] In the case of Nehardea it was opposed by R. Āshī (A.D. 352–427).

[2] Blau, "Origine et Histoire de la Lecture du Schema," *R.E.J.* xxxi (1895), p. 192.

[3] See Blau, *loc. cit.*, on the antiquity of the "benedictions." (Of the liturgies of Jewish sects the present writer has made no examination. According to W. H. Rule, *The Karaite Jews* [London, 1870], p. 180 *seq.*, the Decalogue [Ex. xx] precedes the Shema', but not *immediately*.)

[4] At all events, the Decalogue would be so well-known that we must assume that the M.T. faithfully represents the form traditionally preserved among the Palestinian Jews, in which case the papyrus is evidence that in this, if not in other details, the Egyptian Jews pursued an independent path.

[5] *τυγχάνει γὰρ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ φωνῇ λεγόμενα, ἀμελέστερον δέ καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑπάρχει, σεσήμανται, καθὼς ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδότων προσαναφέρεται* (Kautzsch, *Pseudepigr.*, ii, p. 7 sq.; Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 525; Blau, *Studien*, p. 100).

why some of these may not have been re-copied and perpetuated down to a certain period. It is, therefore, not impossible that the papyrus may have belonged to a recension of Deuteronomy in which these fifteen verses were wanting, and if this be so, it would be plausible to assume that the papyrus was in private hands, and not for public use.

Lack of space forbids me to do more than merely refer to other interesting considerations which the papyrus suggests—the form and arrangement of early Hebrew texts, the number of letters in the line, the employment of the *matres lectionis*, the possible use of papyrus for sacred rolls. To these and other points I may return at some future occasion. It is enough for the present to have laid before the readers of the *Proceedings* the main characteristics of this new Biblical text, and to have endeavoured to deal with some of the more important problems which it has raised. No doubt there is room for considerable difference of opinion, but future criticism will scarcely affect the value of Mr. Nash's papyrus as a specimen, and that a unique one, of a pre-Massoretic stage of the Old Testament Hebrew text, nor deny it its claim to be the oldest fragment, not merely of any Biblical text, Hebrew or otherwise,[1] but also (with the sole exception of seals, inscriptions on stone, etc.) of any Hebrew "square character" writing whatsoever.

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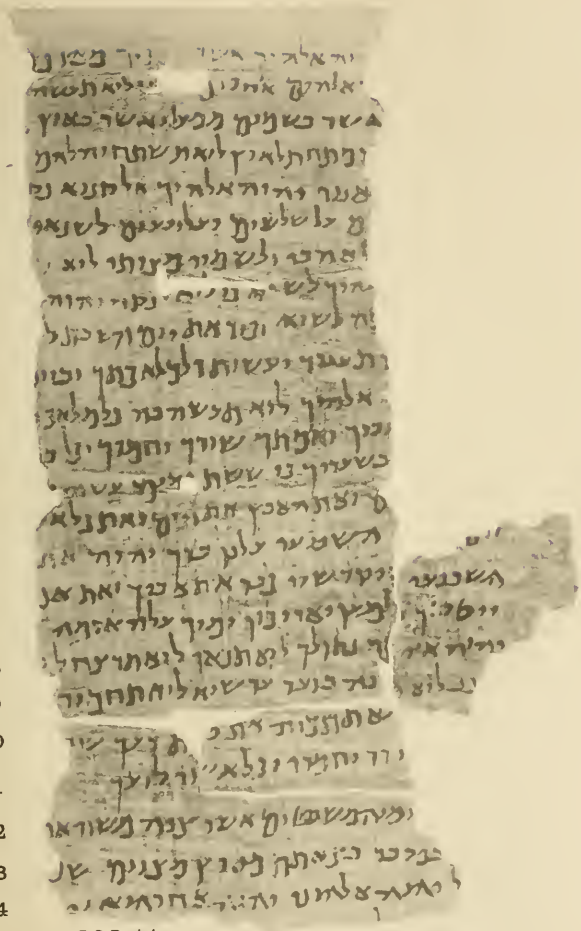
[1] The next oldest specimen of any Biblical text would be the fragment of a Septuagint version of the Psalter, a papyrus of the late IIIrd cent. found in Egypt in 1892 and now preserved in the British Museum (*Pap.* CCXXX.).

Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch. Jany 1905.



F.C.B. del.

A PRE-MASSORETIC BIBLICAL M.S.
ON PAPYRUS.

HEBREW TEXT OF THE PAPYRUS.

(*Fully Restored.*)

[For the principles upon which this restoration has been effected, see p. 36.]

1 (אנכי יהוה אלהיך אשר הוצא)תיך מארין מ(צרים מבית עבדים לוא)

2 (יהיה לך)אלהים אחרים ע(ל פ)ני לוא תעשה (לך פסל כל)

3 (תמונה)אשר בשמים ממעל ואשר בארין (מתחת)

4 (ואשר במי)ם מתחת לארן לוא תשתחוה להם (ולוא תעבדם)

5 (כי)אנכי יהוה אלהיך אל קנוא פקו(ד עון אבות)

6 (על בני)ם על שלשים ועל רבעים לשנאי (ועשה חסד)

7 (לאלפים)לאהבי ולשמרי מצותי לוא ת(שא את שם)

8 (יהוה א)להיך לשוא כי לוא ינקה יהוה (את אשר)

9 (ישא את שמ)ה לשוא זכור את יום השבת ל(קדשו)

10 (ששת ימי)ם תעבוד ועשית כל מלאכתך וביום(השביעי)

11 (שבת ליהוה) אלהיך לוא תעשה בה כל מלאכה (אתה ובנך)

12 (ובתך ו)עבדך ואמתך שורך וחמרך וכל ב(המתך)

13 (וגרך אשר) בשעריך כי ששת ימים עשה י(הוה)

14 (את השמי)ם ואת הארץ את הים ואת כל א(שר בם)

15 ויָנח (ביום) השביעי עלכן ברך יהוה את (היום)

16 השביעי ויקדשיו כבד את אביך ואת אמך למע(ן)

17 ייטב לך ולמען יאריכון ימיך על האדמה (אשר)

18 יהוה אלהיך נתן לך לוא תנאף לוא תרצח לו(א)

19 (תג)נב לוא (תע)נה ברעך עד שוא לוא תחמוד (את[?])

20 (אשת רעך ול)וא תחמוד את ב(י)ת רעך שד(הו)

21 (ועבדו ואמתו וש)ורו וחמרו וכל אשר לרעך

22 ([?]ואלה החק)ים והמשפטים אשר צוה משה את(בני[?])

23 ([?]ישראל) במדבר בצאתם מארין מצרים שמ(ע)

24 (ישרא)ל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד הוא וא(הבת)

25 (את יהוה א)ל(היך בכ)ל ל(בבך וגו')

1	2	3	4

TABLE OF HEBREW ALPHABETS.

TRANSLATION OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE PAPYRUS.

[All verbal variations from the Exodus recension of the Decalogue (chap. xx) and Deut. vi, 4 *sq.* are in *italics*.]

1. (Ex. xx, 2.) [I am the L]ord thy God who [brought] thee out of the land of E[gypt, out of the house of bondage (3) thou shalt]
2. [have non]e other gods be[for]e me. (4) Thou shalt not make [unto thyself a graven image nor the likeness of any]
3. [form] that is in the heavens above, or that is in the earth [beneath]
4. [or that is in the water]s under the earth : (5) thou shalt not bow down to them [nor serve them]
5. [for] I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, vis[iting the iniquity of the fathers]
6. [upon the child]ren, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me : [(6) and showing mercy]
7. [unto thousands of] them that love me and keep my commandments. (7) Thou shalt not [take the name of]
8. [the Lord thy G]od in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless [that]
9. [taketh his nam]e in vain. (8) Remember the Sabbath day to [keep it holy].
10. [(9) Six day]s shalt thou labour, and do all thy work : (10) but *on the* seventh day there is]
11. [a Sabbath unto the Lord] thy God : *in it* thou shalt not do any work, [thou, and thy son],
12. [and thy daughter and (?)] thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, *thine ox, and thine ass, and any of* thy c[attle]
13. [and thy stranger that is] in thy gates : (11) for in six days the Lord [made]
14. [the heaven]s and the earth, the sea and all th[at in them is]
15. and rest[ed] the seventh [day] : wherefore the Lord blessed [the]
16. *seventh day* and hallowed it. (12) Honour thy father and thy moth[er that]
17. *it may be well with thee, and that thy days may be long*, upon the land [which]
18. the Lord thy God giveth thee. (14) *Thou shalt not commit adultery.* (13) *Thou shalt do no murder.* (15) Thou shalt n[ot]
19. [st]eal. (16) Thou shalt not [bear] *vain* witness against thy neighbour. (17) Thou shalt not covet [*thy*]
20. [*neighbour's wife. Thou shalt n]ot covet thy neighbour's h[ou]se, or his fi[eld*],
21. [or his man-servant, or his maid-servant, or his o]x, or his ass, or anything that is thy neighbour's.
22. [*? And these are the statute]s and the judgements which Moses commanded the* [*? children of*]
23. [*? Israel*] *in the wilderness, when they went forth from the land of Egypt* (Deut. vi, 4). Hea[r]
24. [O Israe]l ; the Lord our God, one Lord *is He :* (5) and thou shalt l[ove]
25. [the Lord thy] G[od with al]l t[hy heart, etc.].

THE TRANSLITERATION OF EGYPTIAN.

LETTER OF M. ÉDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*

(*Professeur de l'Égyptologie à l'Université de Génève.*)

Il serait fort désirable que les égyptologues peuvent se mettre d'accord pour avoir un système commun de transcription. Cet accord n'est pas près de se faire dans ce moment-ci. Aussi vaut-il peut-être mieux laisser chaque savant employer dans les publications de la Société la transcription de son choix. J'estime cependant qu'on pourrait arriver à un accord partiel qui serait déjà en progrès, à une entente entre les égyptologues qui ne se rattachent pas à l'école de Berlin, c'est-à-dire qui ne sont pas divisés entre eux par un principe fondamental, car à tout prendre, ils ne diffèrent que sur des points secondaires, tels que l'emploi des points diacritiques ou des lettres doubles.

En revanche il n'y a guère de compromis possible entre ces transcriptions et celle de l'école de Berlin, ou, pour employer un mot moins personnel, des néo-grammairiens. Celle-ci, il me semble, ne peut pas être modifiée, il faut la prendre telle quelle ou la réjeter, parce qu'elle est la conséquence directe et logique du point de départ. Pour la nouvelle école la langue égyptienne est une langue sémitique ; elle n'écrit, par conséquent, que des consonnes, et la grammaire égyptienne doit être reconstituée en harmonie avec ces mêmes langues. Or, à bon sens, en dépit d'une somme énorme de travail, en dépit de toute la sagacité, de tous les rapprochements ingénieux que les avocats de cette idée ont apportés dans l'exposition de leur système, la preuve que la langue égyptienne est une langue sémitique n'est pas encore faite, et l'on peut même douter du succès final de ceux qui ont tenté l'entreprise.

Je laisse de côté ce qui touche à la grammaire proprement dite, comme le pseudo-participe ; je m'en tiens à la transcription seule. Qu'on relise le travail fondamental sur ce sujet, celui de M.

Steindorff * et ceux qui ont suivi, MM. Erman et Sethe, et l'on verra que la raisonnement revient à deux arguments qui s'entre-répondent ; l'égyptien est une langue sémitique, donc il n'écrit que des consonnes ; et celui-ci, qui est la réplique du précédent : les soi-disant voyelles égyptiennes sont des consonnes, parce que l'égyptien est une langue sémitique.†

À l'appui de leur thèse, les néo-grammairiens fait avec raison un grand usage du copte. Mais lorsqu'on se sert de cette langue, il y a un fait qu'on oublie trop souvent : c'est que le copte n'est que la plus ancienne transcription de l'égyptien. Ce n'est pas l'alphabet né avec la langue, et qui s'est developpé parallèlement au langage parlé, c'est un alphabet étranger, d'un caractère très-différent, puisqu'il n'est plus question de syllabaire, qui a été imposé tout fait à l'ancienne langue, et dans les limites duquel il a fallu faire entrer l'égyptien tant bien que mal. La preuve que ce nouvel habit ne s'adoptait pas trop bien à sa taille, c'est qu'il a fallu l'allonger de six caractères. On se demande alors comment il se fait quand on inventait de nouveaux signes pour représenter des articulations, qui devaient différer aussi peu que le ϥ du Φ, qu'on n'en ait pas crée pour ces soi-disant consonnes : , , , , , et que la place de ces consonnes soit invariablement occupée en copte par des voyelles. Si dans ϣⲧⲡ, l'ϣ n'est pas la voyelle de , comment se fait-il qu'en copte il n'existe point de signe pour la consonne , qui cependant se retrouve dans les textes égyptiens de la plus basse époque ?

Il est aisé de voir que dans la transcription copte on a reproduit le mieux possible avec les lettres qu'on avait à sa disposition, les sons tels qu'on les entendait. C'est l'oreille qui a été le guide de ceux qui pour la première fois ont écrit en copte des mots égyptiens, et de là viennent les divergences dans la manière dont une même voyelle peut être rendue. M. Steindorff considère comme impossible que *i* ( ) ou ⲓ ( ) soient des voyelles, parce que ces lettre correspondent tantôt à un *i*, tantôt à un *ō*, tantôt un *ŏ*, tantôt un *ē*. Mais je me permettrai de faire observer à mon savant confrère que

* *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, 1852, p. 709, et suiv.

† Steindorff, *loc. cit.*, p. 723.

c'est ce que nous voyons dans un grand nombre de langues modernes. Qu'on essaye, par exemple, de transcrire à la française les différents sons de chaque voyelle de l'anglais. Pour chacun il faudra employer deux ou trois signes différents : l'*a* que l'anglais appelle *ē*, vous le transcrirez *ē* dans le mot *grave*, par un *ĕ* dans *any* ou *Pall Mall*, par une sorte d'*o* dans *a*ll, par un *ā* dans *father*, un *ă* dans *have*, par un *e* muet dans l'article *a*. L'*i* s'appelle d'un nom diphone *aï*, et se prononce ainsi dans le pronom *I*, ou le mot *ivory*, tandis qu'il est un *ĭ* dans *fit* ou *image*. L'*u* a aussi un nom diphone, *iou*, et se prononce ainsi dans *ridicule*, tandis que c'est un simple *ou* dans *pull*. L'*o* dans *one* a un son diphone, *ouone*. On pourrait multiplier les exemples.

En allemand regardez ce que sont les voyelles dans les dialectes de la Suisse allemande ; prennez le premier mot venu : *geht* est à Berne *geit*, deux heures plus loin *gōt*. *Ja* est ici *Je* là *Jō*. Admettant qu'on voulut changer l'écriture et reproduire tous ces mots tels qu'on les entend, on arriverait pour chaque voyelle originelle à une variété de sons au moins aussi grande que celle que M. Steindorff appelle une impossibilité.

D'autre part, si l'on considère les changements qui se sont produits dans les voyelles en passant du latin au français, et même déjà à l'italien ; quand on voit que l'*e* de *decem* est devenu *dieci*, *dix*, l'*i* de *pirus poirier*, etc., on ne saurait s'étonner de ce que dans une langue qui a duré quatre mille ans au bas mot, le son des voyelles ait changé, et que chacune ait eu plusieurs sons monophones ou diphones, tandis que le signe écrit ou restait toujours le même.

La principale objection que j'ai contre la transcription des néo-grammairiens, c'est qu'à mon sens elle est erronée. Elle crée des consonnes là où il n'y a que des voyelles. Je ne sais trouver ni dans le copte ni dans l'égyptien ces finales en *ew*, en *ej*, ces pluriels *owet*, *owe*, ces *'ĕj rĕ jĕw* (Seth. I, p. 8) et autres lectures du même genre. Ce sont des formes artificielles créées d'après les principes que la nouvelle école croit avoir établis : formes souvent fort ingénieuses, et qui supposent beaucoup de science chez ceux qui les ont découvertes, mais qui n'en sont pas moins quelquechose de factice.

Je me bornerai à examiner deux des signes dont on fait des consonnes. M. Erman nous dit, en parlent de , "dass das ein Consonant ist, zeigt das Koptische wo das ihm entsprechende ⲟⲩ

als Stammconsonant gezählt wird." Si = ⲟⲩ, je demanderai pourquoi on ne le transcrit pas par *ou*, ou bien *u* prononcé comme en allemand? Depuis quand le son *ou* est-il une consonne? J'admets que dans certains cas *ou* remplace une consonne, comme dans le français *douter*, mais il n'en est pas moins une voyelle, comme dans le mot *ouvrir*. Le parallèlisme avec les langues sémitiques ne permettait pas la transcription *ou*, c'est pourquoi on a adopté le *w*. On nous dit que c'est le *w* anglais, qui est en effet une consonne quoiqu'il se prononce *oŏ* (Webster's Dict.). Mais ne voit-on pas que la correspondance n'existe nullement entre le *w* anglais et l'ⲟⲩ copte. Le *w* ne peut pas se prononcer seul; pour le faire sonner il faut une voyelle; c'est le contraire pour le ⲟⲩ copte. Non seulement il se prononce seul, mais il précède ou suit les consonnes, de manière à en permetter la prononciation. C'est une voyelle dans le sens propre du mot. Que le son *ou* ait un certaine affinité avec le *v* cela est certain; mais le *v* me paraît rendu plus souvent par le ϩ, comme dans le nom de ϩⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ, *Victor*.

Il en est à peu près de même du son , *i*. L'*i* a sans doute une tendance à devenir une demi-consonne, quand il est suivi d'une voyelle. En français pour distinguer ces cas on a adopté pour l'*i* consonne le *j*; mais on sait que les anciennes écritures n'avaient qu'une seule lettre *i* (Littré). Dans la transcription nouvelle, tous les sont des *j*. Cette lettre *j* où est-elle en copte? et si elle existait en égyptien, pourquoi n'a-t-elle pas d'équivalent dans la nouvelle écriture? Pourquoi cet équivalent n'est-il pas la voyelle *i*? Par exemple, le verbe est en copte *i*. Il est transcrit *ij*, qui exige une ou deux voyelles de renfort. Voilà un mot qui me paraît créé de toutes pièces, et qui n'est ni du copte ni de l'égyptien. De même le verbe me semble transcrit très-exactement en copte: ⲓⲱ ou ⲉⲓⲱ = *i* qui a pu être prononcé ⲉⲓ, et ⲱ correspondant à l' comme dans .

On en a fait *i'j* ou *j'j*. La raison de cette transcription saute aux yeux; elle est la conséquence du principe fondamental. Il faut que dans des mots comme , puisse être

le troisième radical sémitique. (Sethe.) Cette transcription *j* me paraît aussi justifiée que si en français on remplaçent tous les *i* par des *j*. Cela donnerait à la langue une singulière physionomie. Bien des mots n'existeraient plus, comme le mot : *prit*, il n'y auraît plus que *projet*. Je mentionne seulement une dernière considération qui m'empêche de voir dans ces lettres des consonnes ; c'est le facilité avec laquelle on les omet dans l'écriture, tandis que si elles étaient des radicaux faisant partie de la charpente du mot (Stamm-consonnants) on ne s'en passerait pas ainsi *ad libitum*.

En résumé, je continuerai à me servir d'une transcription analogue à celle de Lepsius. Cette transcription peut être perfectionnée dans les détails, mais pour ce qui est des consonnes les divergences entre les égyptologues ne sont pas grandes. Pour les voyelles je ne vois pas d'inconvénient à conserver aussi la transcription de Lepsius. L'essentiel c'est que ces signes soient transcrits par des voyelles. Quant au son qu'on attribue à chacun, ce sera toujours une convention, puisque le son a varié, et qu'un même signe peut en avoir plusieurs.

A SEAL-CYLINDER

Belonging to MR. H. S. COWPER, *F.S.A.*

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*

Mr. H. S. Cowper's interesting seal-cylinder from Homs is a fine specimen of the class to which it belongs. It represents a Syrian imitation of the gem-cutter's art of early Babylonia, and takes us back to the period when the conquests of Sargon of Akkad brought Babylonian influences to the West. Mr. Cowper tells me that in the Louvre he has noticed a cylinder with three zones of subjects which are analogous with those on his own seal; the second zone representing an eagle rising between kneeling bulls, while in the third zone birds are walking one behind the other in a sort of frieze.

The heraldic position of the bulls has a parallel in that of the bulls on the magnificent cylinder of Sargon of Akkad, an illustration of which will be found in Maspero's *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 601. For man-headed bulls a seal figured by Lajard (*Recherches sur le Culte du Cyprès*, IX, 2) must be referred to, though here the faces are in profile only; see also Ménant's *Collection de Clercq*, VII, 61, and for a snake-haired winged demon, Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, LXVIII, 20. A man-headed bull is depicted on the coins of Paphos (Six, *Du classement des séries Cypriotes*, 1883).

The eagle reminds us of the double-headed eagle which was the token or heraldic symbol of Lagos (Tello); on a Cypriote cylinder discovered by Gen. di Cesnola an eagle is engraved which is a counterpart of that on Mr. Cowper's seal (Di Cesnola, *Cyprus*, XXXIII, 24). In the Cypriote specimen the eagle has a goat and

a fish on one side of it, a hand on the other. A similar eagle is met with on one of the Mykenæan sealings found by Mr. Hogarth at Zakro in Krete (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXII, [1902], Pl. VI, 27). On another of the sealings the eagle has the breasts and legs of a woman (*Jrl.*, p. 79).

What is meant by the man stabbing a locust with a dart I cannot say.

THE SEPTUAGINT RENDERING OF 2 KINGS, XIX, 26.

By DR. E. NESTLE.

At the end of his suggestive article on "The so-called *Quinta* of 4 Kings" (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV, p. 219), Mr. F. C. BURKITT writes: "It is difficult to see why πάτημα was chosen to render the rare word שדפה. Most likely *it was a mere guess* derived from the context."

KLOSTERMANN thought of confusion with שאף, Am. ii, 7; The Dictionary of Gesenius-Buhl (s.v. שדפה) suggests mis-spelling for מרמס.

May I be permitted to suggest a reference to the Egyptian *Shadoof* or *Sāḳieh*? *i.e.*, "watering-machine," one kind of which is called *sāḳieh tedūr birrijl*, *i.e.*, "watering-machine that turns by the foot." A description of it from LANE'S *Modern Egyptians* is given in DRIVER'S *Commentary* on Deut. xi, 10; and a picture of it in BISSEL'S *Biblical Antiquities*, p. 184. I cannot here enter into a discussion of the etymology of the word *shadoof*; but certainly this Septuagint rendering πάτημα must play a part in it, and cannot be attributed to a mere guess or to a corruption of the Hebrew text. On the contrary, it corroborates the latter in the most desirable way.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, February 11th, 1903, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L.* :—"The Egyptian Name of Joseph."

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1902.

1902.	Dr.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance from last year		39 1 4
Dec. 31.	,, Subscriptions—		
	For the Current Year ...	346 7 2	
	Arrears	99 14 3	
	In Advance	13 13 0	
	Life Subscription ...	15 15 0	
			475 9 5
	,, Donation		1 0 0
	,, Sales of Proceedings, &c.		55 3 1
	,, Dividends on Consols		3 8 0
	,, Rent from Egypt Exploration Fund ...		90 0 0
			£664 1 10
1902.			
Dec. 31.	,, Balance brought down		82 10 8

1902.	Cr.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Dec. 31.	By Expenditure—		
	Rent		125 0 0
	Rates, Taxes (including Gas and Water)		72 13 3
	Housekeeper		21 11 0
	Printing		260 0 6
	Books		7 10 6
	Plates		54 12 1
	Office Expenses and Stationery ...		10 2 3
	Postage		7 14 3
	Repairs		8 19 1
		£ s. d.	
	Insurance	5 15 6	
	Less returned	1 4 0	
			4 11 6
	Furniture		3 10 8
	Sundries—		
	Carriage	1 10 1	
	Advertisements ...	0 7 5	
	Bank Charges	0 5 7	
			2 3 1
	Auditor		3 3 0
			581 11 2
	,, Balance at Bankers		82 10 8
			£664 1 10

Audited and found correct,

W. J. HAYWOOD.
EDWARD S. M. PEROWNE.

I hereby certify that I have examined the Society's Books and Vouchers, and that the above Statement is a correct abstract therefrom.

January 8th, 1903. CHRIS. B. HARPER.

NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount, £1 1s., at once to Messrs. Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 16, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. L. NASH, 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As the new list of members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. IX of the *Transactions*.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1903.

Second Meeting, 11*th February*, 1903.

SIR H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E.*, *&c.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From F. Legge:—The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia. By A. H. Sayce, *D.D.*, *LL.D.* 8vo. Edinburgh, 1902.

From G. Maspero, *Directeur Gén. des Antiquités de l'Égypte*:—Guide du Visiteur au Musée du Caire. 8vo. Cairo, 1902.

From Rev. C. A. de Cara, *S.J.*:—La scoperta delle tombe nel Foro Romano. *Civilta Cattolica*, January, 1903.

From Paul Haupt :—Marksteine aus der Weltliteratur in Originalschriften. Folio. 1902.

——— The Book of Canticles, or the Song of Songs. 8vo. 1902.

——— The Ephod, its form and use. 8vo. 1902.

——— The origin of the Pentateuch. 8vo. 1895.

From W. L. Nash :—Journal of a Visit to some parts of Ethiopia. By Waddington and Hanbury. 4to. 1822.

——— Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Mecca. By Capt. Sir R. F. Burton. 2 vols. 8vo. 1893.

From the Author, Joseph Lewin :—Bible Records of the Earth's Changes. 8vo. 1902.

From the Author, Prof. E. Naville :—La Pierre de Palerme. Folio. 1903.

From the Author, Prof. Dr. Schäfer.—Commentary on Papyrus Ebers. 4to. 1903.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society :—

Henry Proctor, 146, Mallinson Road, Clapham Common, S.W

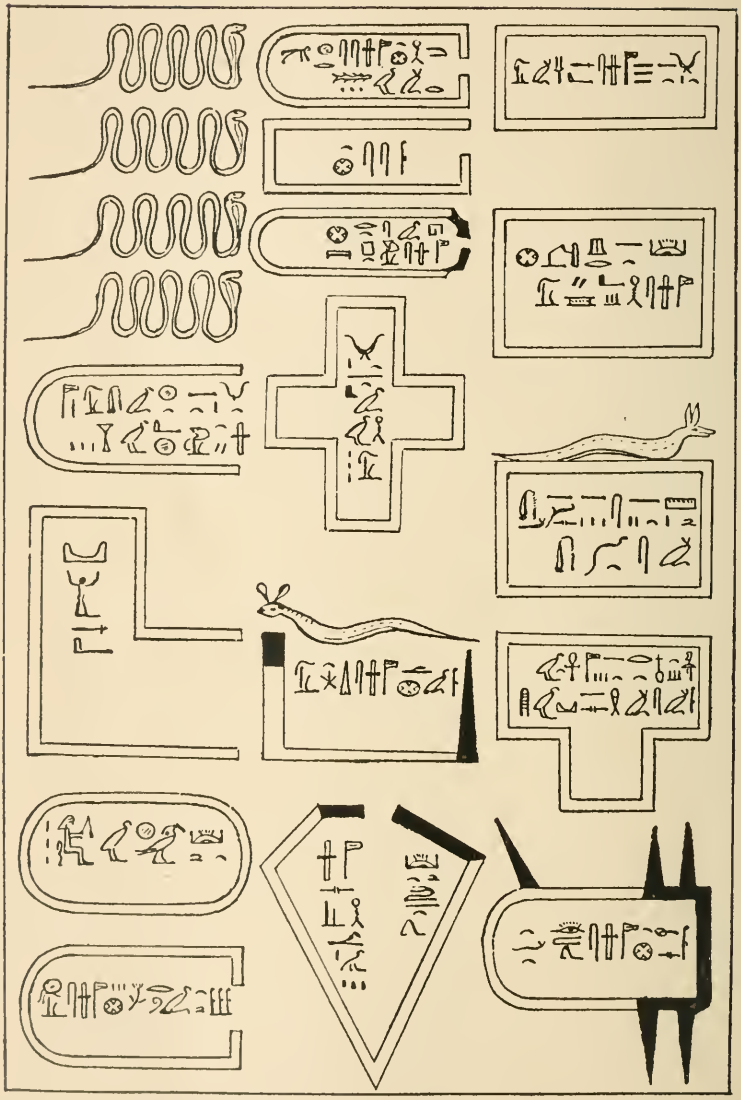
Joseph J. Mooney, 172, Church Street, Deptford, S.E.

E. Nathan Adler, 48, Copthall Avenue, E.C.

The following Paper was read :—

PROF. E. NAVILLE, *D.C.L.* : "The Egyptian Name of Joseph."

The Paper was discussed by Dr. Gaster, Rev. Dr. Löwy, Dr. Pinches, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Adler, and the Chairman.



CHAPTER CL. British Museum, 9900.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By Prof. Edouard Naville, *D.C.L.*

(*Continued from p.* 10.)

CHAPTER CXLIX—*continued.*

The thirteenth domain. O this domain of the water, which none of the glorious ones can possess, for its water is of fire, its stream is burning, and its heat is of blazing flame, so that they may not drink its water in order to quench the thirst which is within them, for their mighty fear, and their great terror.

The gods and the glorious ones look at its water from afar, they do not quench their thirst, and their heart is not set at rest, because they may not go near it.

When the river is full and green like the flowing sap which comes out of Osiris, I take its water, I draw from its flood like the great god who is in the domain of the water, and who keeps watch over it for fear that the gods may drink from its water, and who inspires dread to the glorious ones.

Hail to thee, thou great god, who art in the domain of the water. I have come to thee. Grant me to take of thy water, to take of thy stream, as thou doest to this great god.

When the Nile will come, when he will give birth to the plants, and cause the herbs to grow; as it is given to the gods, when he appears in peace, grant that the Nile may come to me, and that I may take his plants; for I am thy own son for ever.

The fourteenth domain. O this domain of Cher-āba (15), which drives the Nile towards Tattu, and which causes the Nile to go and

spend its corn in his course from *Rokekmu* (16); thou which presentest offerings to the dead, and mortuary gifts to the glorious ones.

There is a serpent belonging to it, who comes from the two wells at Elephantine, at the gate of the water. He goes with the water, and stops at the stream of Cher-āba, near the powers of the high flood; he sees his hour of the silent evening.

Ye gods who live in the water of Cher-āba, ye powers of the high flood, open to me your ponds, open to me your lakes, that I may take of your water, and that I may rest in your stream, that I may eat of your corn, that I may be satisfied with your food.

I have risen, my heart is high, for I am the great god in Cher-āba.

Make me offerings. I have been filled with the vital sap coming out of Osiris. I shall not be despoiled of it. The end.

NOTES.

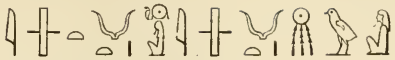
This is one of the interesting chapters of the Book of the Dead. It is more frequently met with than the other ones, and it generally constitutes the end of the Theban papyri. It is the chapter of the various domains which the deceased has to reach, and in which he enjoys special privileges.

The vignettes generally give the plan of the domain, and very often the colour with which it is painted; they are either green or light yellow . In most of the papyri there are only four yellow—3, 9, 10, and 14.

Renouf translates "domain" (p. 208). Dr. Budge keeps the word *aat*, and considers them as the divisions of the Elysian fields. Pierret translates *demeure*, Brugsch *siège*, *demeure*, *habitation*. I shall adopt Renouf's word, though *residence* or *habitation* seems to me preferable. An is an enclosed space which has inhabitants described or mentioned in the text. The deceased calls first on the domain, and often in the same breath goes over to the inhabitants without any transition.

1. The second domain is the horizon. The text of the vignette says: the god who is in it is Harmachis. The text to this domain being a repetition of chapter 109, I adopt Renouf's translation (p. 181.)

2. The third domain is called "that of the glorious ones."

3. The moon. *Ab* reads :  "on the face of the sun, and on the face of the moon."

4. The deceased speaks of himself as a magician who can cover the head of the serpent without being hurt. The eyes of the serpent, which have the power of paralyzing, of making impotent (see seventh domain), are given him ; the result is, that when he goes to the mountain on which the serpent shows his strength, this strength collapses, as the deceased says : thy strength is in my hand ; I am he who lifts, who takes away the strength.

5. Renouf generally translates tunnels. See p. 126, and Proc., 1893, p. 385 ; but here we must adopt the other sense, serpent or worms. Copt. ⲁⲕⲟⲣⲓ.

6. Or *Secher-remu*, he who knocks down the worm, or he who knocks down the fishes.

7. *Ka* and serpent have killed each other.

8. The lynx (see note, p. 82, on chapter 34). It seems to be the cat who is represented in the vignettes of chapter 17, cutting off the head of the serpent.

9. This is a chapter found on the sarcophagus of Amam in the British Museum ; it has the title , "taking the form of a vulture" (see p. 139) : I should rather say a goose.

10. The ninth domain, Akset or Aksi, has the form of a vase, which a crocodile called Maatetf touches with his snout.

11. The words are obscure. I believe them to mean : Akset was made such as it is, in order that, &c.

12. The tenth domain is called that which is at the mouth of the stream.

13. I cannot translate the following words.

14. The destruction of the name means absolute destruction of the person.

15. I have kept the reading Cher-āba, which Renouf advocates, in opposition to Cher-aha, adopted by most egyptologists.

16. I believe this name, which is spelt differently in each papyrus, to be the origin of the Κρῶφι and Μῶφι, these two rocks mentioned by Herodotus (II, 28), out of which issues the Niles.

There are hardly any variants in the vignettes which accompany the text of the chapter of the domains.

Chapter CL.

Notes.

This is not a separate chapter: it stands to 149 as 16 to 15. It consists of the vignettes accompanying chapter 149, and it is the end of many papyri. Curiously, there are fifteen domains instead of fourteen, one of them, the fifth, seems to have been divided into two.

At the corner of the picture are four serpents, which I consider as the four cardinal points.

Taking the domains in the same order as in the preceding text, we find them named in the following way in the papyrus *Aa* :—

1. The good Amenta, the gods within which live on *shens* and *tu* loaves.
2. The garden of Aarru; the god in it is Rā.
3. The domain of the glorious ones.
4. The high and lofty mountain.
5. The basin, the fire of which is a blazing flame; the front of the fire, the god in it is the bearer of altars.
6. Amemhet, the god in it is he who knocks down the fishes.
7. Asset.
8. Hasert, the god in it is the bearer of heaven.
9. Akset, the god in it is Maatetf.
10. The face of the Kahu gods.
11. Aat, the god in it is Sothis.
12. The domain of Unt, the god in it is the destroyer of souls.
13. The surface of the water, the god in it is the mighty power.
14. The domain of Cher-āba, the god in it is the Nile.

(*To be continued.*)

CYLINDER-SEALS.

BELONGING TO MR. H. A. RIGG.

By T. G. Pinches, LL.D.

The Cylinder-seals illustrated on the accompanying Plate were found at Salamis, and were purchased by Mr. Rigg in 1892 at the sale of the Cypriote Antiquities collected by General di Cesnola. Their description is as follows:—

Fig. I. Ironstone (hæmatite) cylinder, $\frac{11}{16}$ths of an inch high, and $\frac{5}{16}$ths in diameter. The central figure is apparently a worshipper, bringing an offering of a bird to the goddess on the left, towards whom his face is turned. On the right is a figure occupying a position corresponding with that of the goddess, and looking likewise towards her (to the left). This last is probably the west-Semitic form of the "divine attendant," who appears in analogous scenes on cylinders from Babylonia. All three figures are robed to the feet, the central one (the worshipper) being bare-headed, whilst the others have a head-cloth hanging down behind to the shoulders. The figure on the left has the left arm, and the other two the right arm, raised, the worshipper holding aloft in his hand the bird. At each end (engraved in the space corresponding with the back of the cylinder) is a winged griffin, seated on its haunches, looking to the right, and below a lion in the same position, looking to the left. Between the goddess and the worshipper is an object apparently intended for an ass's head, cut off behind the jaw, facing right, and behind the worshipper is something whose form suggests a pulley placed horizontally. These objects recall Hittite hieroglyphics. The work is probably Cypriote, and is not by any means well finished. The arm of the goddess on the left is bent at the elbow,

but the hand is not indicated. The same may also be said of the other figures, the extension of their arms to the right (they ought to bend to the left) being due to the exaggeration of the elbow, caused by the "slide" of the cylinder when the impression was taken; all the figures in the reproduction are, in fact, broader than in the original.

In Prof. Sayce's notes on the cylinders in General Cesnola's collection (*Salaminia*, p. 120), he says that this cylinder shows the presentation of a dove to Astarte. He describes the style as Phoenico-Egyptian strongly coloured by Assyrian art.

Fig. II. Ironstone cylinder, one inch high by a little more than ⅜ths in diameter. To the left are two figures, winged, and clothed in garments reaching to the feet, with short sleeves, somewhat puffed at the shoulders, and girded at the waist. The neck of the right-hand figure terminates in two eagles' heads, slanting upwards right and left, and small in proportion to the body. The right arm of this figure touches the strangely-formed sacred tree on the left, as does the left arm of the left-hand figure, whose abnormally thick neck ends in two lions' heads, looking right and left. These two—the lion-headed and eagle-headed figures—evidently form a group by themselves. On the right is an eagle-headed (or hawk-headed) figure, whose position in the design should evidently be on the other side, and looking towards the lion-headed figure. He holds in his left hand a gazelle by one of its hind legs, one forefoot of the animal resting on the ground, and the head being stretched upwards towards him. In his right hand he holds a strange-looking weapon, terminating in an animal's head, but it is doubtful whether the two lines at the end form part of it, or of some crest or crown on his head. As it was necessary to show his arm clearly, together with the weapon he is holding, his left wing only is represented. To all appearance he is offering the gazelle to the lion-headed figure, that with the double bird's head having already received one, which he is holding up in a position very similar to that of the bird-headed personage who is bringing a gazelle to the lion-headed figure. Like the first, the work is rather rough, and, notwithstanding its peculiarities, seems to be genuine. A sketch of a cylinder resembling this one is given in *Salaminia*, fig. 31, on the plate facing page 120. The design is divided differently, and is reproduced as on the original —*i.e.*, reversed. In the accompanying note Prof. Sayce points out

that all the figures wear boots with turned-up ends, and he describes the work as Babylonian.

Fig. III. Cylinder of a very hard grey stone, described by Cesnola as jasper, but probably steatite hardened by long exposure to the air. Height, just under one inch, diameter about $\frac{5}{16}$ths. Grotesque design, formed of straight lines for the bodies and limbs of the figures, and beads for their heads. Two seated figures, that on the right with his arms raised, as if supporting the line which may be regarded as representing the roof, the other with the arms down, very short, and having no indication of hands. These two personages are opposite each other, and have between them a standing figure, with an inordinately long nose or beak, which extends almost to the face of the seated figure on the left. On the extreme left, in the blank space above, is a smaller figure, probably intended for a child. The two seated figures and the small one seem to be provided with short noses, apparently indicating the direction in which the figures themselves are to be regarded as looking, and if this be the case, the seated figure on the left is looking towards the one with the long nose (*i.e.*, to the right), and the other seated figure away from that with the long nose (*i.e.*, likewise to the right), with the head turned back, as if to look at the little one, who is looking towards the last-named (*i.e.*, to the left). A globe or ball is shown between the seated figure with the arms raised and the standing figure, and another below the child, between the back part of the seats of the two seated figures.

Compare *Salaminia*, Pl. XII, No. 12, which is in a similar style and apparently gives the same design with variations; compare also No. 19 and others on Pl. XIII. See also de Clercq, Pl. IV, No. 30.

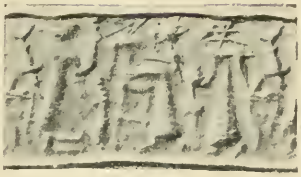
Fig. IV. Ironstone cylinder, $\frac{5}{8}$ths of an inch high, diameter slightly over a fourth of an inch. On the right, two figures, perhaps a king (left) and a god (right), or a god (left) and a worshipper (right). Between them, above, a beaded ring, perhaps some emblem; below, apparently a fish, tail downwards. On the left, two emblems resembling the Egyptian *anḫ*, base to base (*i.e.*, the loop of the upper one at the top, and that of the lower at the bottom). Farther to the left, and connected with it, is a kind of floral ornament—perhaps part of the sacred tree—with one bud opening to the left, three to the right, one upwards, and one downwards. The workmanship is

rough and careless in the extreme—so much so that it is difficult to make out all the details. Probably Assyrian work, or an imitation of it, the costume of the left-hand figure, who has a dress opening in front, being that of the Assyrian seals and sculptures.

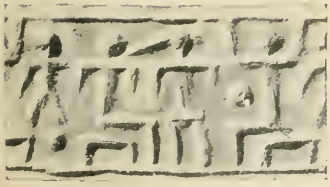
Fig. V. Cylinder of steatite, surface bluish-black, but greyish in the engraved parts. In the centre a deity seated on a high stool, and holding in the left hand a cup. Before the deity, a personage standing, holding in the left hand a crooked sword. Behind him is seemingly the head of a long-eared animal, frontface, but if this be so, the upper lip is inordinately large, and the eyes and cheeks are hardly indicated. (This object is repeated on the left-hand side of the impression.) On the left, behind the seated figure, is a lion, seated on his hind legs, which stretch out stiffly to the right, whilst the right foreleg is directed upwards, and the left down. In all probability this animal is the protector of the seated deity. The work is very rough and full of mannerisms, the bodies of the figures being very thin, and their skirts, which have a fishbone pattern, very wide at the base in proportion. Between the standing and the seated figure is what may be intended for a vase, and between (behind) the seated figure and the lion is an unrecognisable object. The engraver has, in every case, left himself much too little room for the heads, and he has also not been careful to engrave the deity's stool upright.

I.

II.



V.



III.

IV.

CYLINDER-SEALS.

Belonging to Mr. H. A. Rigg.

MATÉRIAUX POUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA RELIGION ASSYRO-BABYLONIENNE.

By ALFRED BOISSIER.

(*Continued from p.* 29.)

Un autre terme, que je me suis toujours abstenu de traduire et qui revient souvent dans les omina, où il désigne une partie de la victime de l'examen de laquelle on pronostique l'avenir, est le [illegible]; je me suis demandé s'il ne désignait pas un de ces organes peu honorables du genre de ceux dont il vient d'être question et voici sur quoi je m'appuie : dans II R. 16, 20, E.F., il est parlé du *daddaru*, c.-à.-d. d'une matière qui est corrompue, sent mauvais, autrement dit d'une eau dans laquelle il y a du [illegible]; dans II R. 16, 20 et 21, E.F., *daddaru* correspond à [illegible] ? ?[16] [illegible], de même que *martum* = (l. 24) [illegible]. La liste des significations de [illegible] et de ses composés (Brünnow, p. 185 et 186) nous montre que c'est l'hébreu צֵאָה excrément, ordure, et peut-être qu'un certain nombre d'omina comme celui publié III R. 55, No. 4, se rapportent au ṣi = צֵאָה et font allusion aux ordures ou aux émanations fétides, dont chaque mois de l'année le pays pouvait craindre les conséquences funestes, épidémies, maladies, etc. Que [illegible] ait aussi le sens de fiel, poche du fiel, tout ce qui contient du liquide corrompu, amer, vessie, etc., cela est indiscutable. La connaissance des *omina* dépend en grande partie de celle de tous ces termes fondamentaux,

[16] N'est-ce pas plutôt [illegible] ? ; j'ai traduit un des textes publiés II R. 16 dans la *Revue Sémitique*.

et la difficulté réside dans la concision extrême des phrases, où l'on ne trouve aucun point d'appui. Cette petite digression nous ramène aux documents auguraux publiés par S. A. Smith, et sur lesquels il convient de dire encore quelques mots avant d'en faire l'objet d'une étude plus vaste ; il est à remarquer, que souvent l'*omen* proprement dit fait défaut, est sous-entendu ou supposé connu du consultant ; c'est ainsi que K. 4, K. 159, K. 1523 (*cf.* S. A. Smith, *loc. cit.*), ne donnent le présage que dans un certain nombre de cas.

K. 4, obv., ll. 4, 6, 7.

K. 159, obv., ll. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9.

Les trois textes précités renferment chacun un paragraphe distinct des autres (K. 1523, ll. 14–16 ; K. 4, l. 12–17 ; K. 159, ll. 14–18), avec les questions dont on attend la réponse ; cela s'explique ainsi : étant données les conséquences connues d'après les observations faites sur le *na*, le *gir*, le *bîr*, etc., quelle est la signification de chacun des signes énumérés dans ce paragraphe, et ces signes sont ils favorables dans tel cas pour telle personne et spécialement *pour la personne dont le nom est écrit sur cette tablette* (K. 1523 + K. 1436, Obv., l. 17). Ainsi dans K. 159 nous voyons que :—

L. 1. Si le *na* se trouve, que le *gir* est double, que le *gir* gauche sur le *gir* droit se trouve.

Šumma NA šakin GIR II. ma, GIR šumêlu eli GIR imni šakin.

L. 2. L'ennemi ses armes contre l'armée du prince . . . . ? . . . .

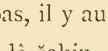
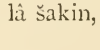
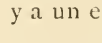
Nakru kakkêšu eli kakkê rubi imarrû ?[17]

L. 3. Si le *dan* ne se trouve pas, il y aura nibḫu (niphu).

Šumma DAN lâ šakin, nibḫu.

L. 4. Si à la droite du *na*[18] il y a un enfoncement, salut de mon armée.

Šumma ina imitti NA U nadi šalimtu ummâni.

[17] Le sens de  paraît être, "l'emporter sur." Ja rappellerai ici que dans un autre omen on lit : Si une brebis met au monde un bœuf, le prince ses armes contre (sur) celles de l'ennemi  ( ). Ailleurs : Si un *ṣi* est comme un *kibirru*, tes armes contre (sur) les armes de ton ennemi  (pour *kibirru*, *cf.* Del., *H. W.*, p. 316).

[18] *Na* = *maḫirtu*, II R. 29, 29, désigne une partie du corps de même que *kabbartu* et *qabbaltu* : le sens paraît être la poitrine, mais dans ces textes il règne une certaine incertitude touchant la signification précise.

Le § qui renferme les questions spécialement adressées dans le cas particulier est conçu ainsi :

L. 14. Si le *gir* est double que le *gir* gauche sur le *gir* droit se trouve.

Šumma GIR II . ma GIR šumêlu eli GIR imni šakin.

L. 15. Si le *dan* ne se trouve pas, qu'à la droite du *na*, il y a un enfoncement (trou).

Šumma DAN lâ šakin ina imitti NA U nadi.

L. 16. Si le *kutallu*[19] du foie à droite est coupé.

Šumma kutal ḪAR imni nakis.[20]

L. 17. Si le (la) *bamat* (*sati*) sur le *kubšu* s'élève.

Šumma bamâtu (SA . TI) eli kubši ḪU . SI.

L. 18. 5 signes énigmatiques (quoique contraires) dedans.

V TAG . meš ina libbi.

L. 19. Lui sont-ils favorables ? où

ŠI . BIR - meš iânu.[21]

L. 20. Doit-il ?

TAG . at.

L'on voit par ces exemples que la première personne est souvent employée dans la partie des phrases, qui renferme la réponse des oracles. Ex. :—

K. 4, obv., l. 7.

Si le *kibši*[22] gauche du *ṣi* s'élève (il y aura) *kibši* de l'armée ennemie à mon pays.

Šumma kibši šumêli ṢI HU . SI, kibši ummân nakri ana mâtiia.

K. 159, obv., l. 7.

Si le *šusi* et le *bír* sont sains.

Šumma ŠU . SI u BÍR šalmu.

[19] Partie postérieure ou côté, ici le premier sens est plus probable.

[20] Écrit *na-gi-is*.

[21] *Iânu* = oui ou non ? mais le verbe *Tag . at* = *ilappat ?* exige de traduire *iânu* par " où " ; le sens n'est pas clair.

[22] *Kibši*, IV R. 58, Col. II, l. 21 ; ce *kibši* a-t-il quelque chose à voir avec פֶּרֶשׁ marchepied ? *cf.* aussi Cambyse, 415, ll. 2 et 5.

L. 8. Si le *kutallu* du foie à droite est coupé, tranchement de tête (il y aura).

Šumma kutal ḪAR imni nakis, nikis qaqqadi.

L. 9. Changement de la disposition d'esprit de mon armée[23] šanê ṭêmi ummâniia.

Dans un des plus obscurs présages on rencontre cette phrase :—

Si l'isku est double que les I . RI . A se trouvent, Nébo et Anšar marcheront avec mon armée et je battrai l'ennemi.

Šumma IS . KU II ma I . RI . A šaknû ilu Nabû u AN . ŠAR itti ummâni illakûma nakra adak.

Ailleurs le roi parle des dieux secoureurs (*riṣûa*, c.-à.-d. mes aides), et qui sont tantôt Šamaš et Ištar, tantôt les dieux [illegible] et [illegible];[24] mais les dieux qui accompagnent l'armée sont Nébo et Anšar. Annaeus Florus rapporte au chapitre XI du premier livre de son histoire romaine, que lors du combat, qui se livra sur les bords du lac Régille, deux divinités montées sur des chevaux blancs assistèrent à l'action ; c'étaient Castor et Pollux. Dans le panthéon assyro-babylonien y-a-t-il eu deux Dioscures, dont Nébo et Anšar seraient les représentants ? La question vaut la peine d'être examinée. L'armée assyrienne de même que l'armée romaine ne levait le camp, qu'après avoir consulté les victimes ; elle avait à sa tête un personnage important le *barû*, qui était, suivant l'expression pittoresque d'un poète grec, l'œil de l'armée. Le roi, les officiers et les soldats ne consentaient à prendre les armes, que s'ils avaient la certitude que Nébo et Anšar marchaient avec eux ; ces deux divinités chevauchaient-elles sur des coursiers blancs, comme Castor et Pollux, nous ne le savons pas ; mais ce dont nous sommes assurés, c'est que leur présence dans le combat présageait la victoire au roi de Ninive. Šamaš et Ištar sont les dieux auxiliaires du prince, " mes dieux auxiliaires *riṣûa*," comme il est dit dans les textes auguraux : ce sont ces dieux secoureurs dont il est fait mention chez les auteurs grecs (*cf.* p. ex. Xénophon, *Helléniques*, livre III), et qui détournent

[23] Changement, transformation de l'esprit de mon armée.

[24] Ces deux dieux sont toujours mentionnés ensemble. Ainsi dans un texte on lit : Si ses yeux (c.-à.-d. les yeux du malade) sont très mobiles que sa tête, ses mains et ses pieds tremblent, vengeance des dieux Lugalgirra et Šidlamtaêa : [illegible].

les prodiges ; il faut leur sacrifier avant la bataille pour s'assurer leur concours. Si Šamaš est le dieu du *dînu*, c.-à.-d. de la justice révélée comme une תּוֹרָה, il est aussi le dieu du *bîru* comme Adad (*Agumkakrime :* dernière ligne), et Ištar réunit ces deux attributs sous le titre de *belit dînim u bîri* (Sm. 802) ; l'on conçoit donc qu'elle soit associée à Šamaš ; c'est la valkyrie qui apparaît en rêve au guerrier pour lui donner courage et qui ranime ses forces morales et physiques au sein de la mêlée. Ces mots de *dînu*, *bîru*—il en est d'autres encore—désignent à l'origine des organes et font partie de ce langage mystique, intelligible seulement aux prêtres, et dont ils se servent pour traduire la pensée divine, qu'ils scrutent dans les profondeurs de la victime. La connaissance de ce vieux langage est indispensable pour pénétrer dans les couches profondes de la religion babylonienne, si tant est qu'on en puisse jamais atteindre les fondements ; il faudra plusieurs sondages partiels avant que hors de ce tumulus immense apparaisse le sanctuaire vénérable et ses innombrables chapelles, labyrinte déconcertant, qui garde d'un œil jaloux un essaim de dieux et de déesses, ayant chacun leur sacerdoce et leurs traditions séculaires. Cela ne sera pas une mince besogne que de mettre en lumière ce qui appartient en propre au peuple *x* qui a précédé les Sémites en Babylonie. J'aurais dû à propos de Nébo et d'Anšar rappeler les açvins du panthéon sémitique, qui se rencontrent dans une inscription palmyrénienne sous les vocables d'Arṣou et Azizou (ailleurs sous la forme grécisée de Μόνιμος et Ἄζιζος), et il faut peut-être regarder *arṣou* et *azizou* comme des qualificatifs de Nébo et d'Anšar ;[25] l'un et l'autre sont presque synonymes ; *azizou* = *ezzu* est une épithète fréquemment attribuée à Adad, Nergal, Gibil et les dieux guerriers. Cette épithète de *ezzu* = terrible, intrépide, convient fort bien aux Dioscures ainsi que celle *d'arṣu*, que je rapproche sans inquiétude de *urzunu*[26] courageux (Meissner, *Supplem.*, p. 16 et *B.A.* III, p. 276) = *qarradu* vaillant. Le *z* et le *ṣ* ne sont pas rigoureusement distingués dans les documents cunéiformes ; Clermont-Ganneau a attiré l'attention[27] sur la repré

[25] Il est souvent question dans le présages de Nébo et Anšar, *cf.* mes Documents (*D.A.*, p. 46), où à la dernière ligne il faut rétablir [illegible] à cause de K. 8289 ; pour d'autres corrections à faire dans cette publication, voir ma traduction.

[26] ארין.

[27] *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, tome IV, p. 165 et p. 203. Le texte palmyrénien a été restitué et commenté par Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, tome I, p. 101 et p. 349.

sentation figurée de deux cavaliers sur le bas-relief palmyrénien publié par Sobernheim, ce qui donne du poids à son rapprochement d'*Arṣou* et d'*Azizou* avec les Dioscures. La mention de *abkallu* et de צלמיא est intéressante pour l'assyriologue, et l'incite à comparer ce second terme à *sâlimu*[28] = bienveillant (*cf.* les noms propres de Nabu-salim, Silim-Ašur, Del., *H.W.*, p, 502). Il en est de même de *mâgiru* = *μαγίριος*[29] (*μαγείριος*), s'il est permis de hasarder cette explication ; *mâgiru* se dit du dieu qui accepte l'offrande, entend les prières, et y répond avec faveur, et c'est ainsi qu'Apollon aime à être invoqué.

Avant de clore ce commentaire, peut-être trop copieux, j'ai à présenter les rectifications suivantes, qui se rapportent à l'article précédent, *P.S.B.A.*, June, 1902.

P. 220, l. 7, le point d'interrogation après "le nord" est superflu.

P. 222, biffer la note 10, et pour ce mode d'indiquer les quatre régions en les numérotant, *cf.* III R. 56, No. 1.

P. 222, l. 1, le mot traduit par boulanger désigne plutôt le MU du temple, un fonctionnaire religieux, *cf.* B A. IV, p. 484, et Jensen, *Epen*, 407 ; je ne vois pas pour ma part, que le MU ait des attaches avec le corps médical, et le plus sage est de s'en tenir à l'explication générale de "Speisemeister" proposée par Jensen, moins les attributions médicales ; autrement ce serait faire trop d'honneur à ce personnage. Telles sont les remarques, qui quoique bien superfi-

[28] Clermont-Ganneau a vu dans צלמיא (l'assyrien a un ם) une épithète qui fait pendant à טביא, *loc. cit.*, p. 204.

[29] *Cf.* Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.*, p. 204. A propos du "culte sur les toits chez les Sémites," je pourrais citer encore quelques passages à M. Clermont-Ganneau, entr'autres IV, R. 59, 31 a, où il est question de rites célébrés sur le toit : "Lorsque les premiers rayons du soleil apparaîtront, tandis qu'il descend du toit, etc., etc." Le texte assyrien emploie ici une image poétique, que je ne me souviens pas avoir rencontrée ailleurs, "*Kima mê šamši ittanašû ištu ûri ina aradišu*, etc.," littéralement : Lorsque les eaux du soleil se soulèveront, etc. J'espère pouvoir traiter ailleurs la question du culte sur les toits chez les Assyriens. Ce document fort curieux fait allusion au prix de rachat, que le suppliant offre à sa divinité pour l'apaiser : l. 29, l'argent de ma libération (tu) accepte(s), accorde la vie (*kasap ipṭiria maḫrâta napišti kišam.* Puis à la fin il est fait allusion à la poussière, comme agent magique et purificateur ; *maḫrâta*, permansif, dans le sens de l'impératif : tu dois accepter, accepte. J'aurais aussi plusieurs exemples à citer, qui confirment la signification de "toit" proposée pour la première fois par Jensen pour [illegible]. *Cf.* K. 6791 : Si un corbeau s'élance d'un toit, etc. . . . . tel'e chose arrivera : *šumma aribu ištu* [illegible] (*ûri*) *ušeirramma* . . . . ; pour ce texte, et pour d'autres exemples, *cf.* "Esquisse de la divination assyro-babylonienne."

cielles doivent accompagner toute traduction de textes nouveaux ; il y a une langue mystique à laquelle on ne s'initie qu'après de longs tâtonnements ; il est une écriture hiératique dont on retrouve les caractères sur les tablettes augurales, et qui paraissent avoir constitué la réponse des dieux aux questions qui leur étaient adressées par l'intermédiaire de l'oracle ; dans quelques uns des dessins mantiques que les scribes mettaient en marge des documents, et qui se trouvaient reproduits tels qu'ils apparaissaient dans les centres où la divinité imprimait les stigmates mystérieux on reconnaît le signe 𒀭 dans sa forme archaïque commune.[30] C'est attribuer implicitement une origine divine à ces vieux hiéroglyphes, que de retrouver dans les sillons tracés dans certaines régions des viscères, une écriture hiératique, médium par lequel le prêtre pénètre l'intention cachée de Shamash. Ce caractère divin des symboles graphiques qu'avec un peu de bonne volonté on reconstituait et transcrivait tant bien que mal, a permis aux haruspices qui les interprétaient de garder pendant plusieurs siècles un prestige sans bornes. Sans doute on ne saurait séparer l'astrologie de la science des présages terrestres ; les méthodes sont les mêmes et les arrêts du destin se déchiffrent aussi bien dans le cours des astres, que dans les lignes fatidiques, qui s'enchevêtrent au plus profond des entrailles de la sainte victime. Cela revient à dire, que dans les conceptions religieuses assyro-babyloniennes, toutes les parties de l'univers se tiennent entre elles dans une connexité effrayante, inéluctable ; le destin implacable est le point central autour duquel gravitent toutes les pensées humaines et toutes les énergies divines. Cette épopée babylonienne de la création qu'est elle en définitive sinon le récit de la lutte entre les dieux et les puissances infernales pour s'emparer des tablettes de la destinée ?[31]

[30] Thureau-Dangin, *R.E.*, No. 173, colonne du milieu, signe supérieur.

[31] L'importance du *fatum* dans la religion assyro-babylonienne n'a pas été mesurée à sa juste valeur ; c'est à tort que Jensen traduit (*K.B.*, VI., p. 101, l. 11) : Seine Herrschaft bis zur (fernen) zukunft der Tage zu verherrlichen bestimmte er (als) Schicksal ; c'est au contraire le destin qui est le sujet et qui décrète dans sa toute puissance. Au reste la fin du mythe d'Adapa ne me paraît pas avoir été interprétée par Jensen d'une manière satisfaisante.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF AŠURBÂNIPAL'S REIGN, B.C. 668–626.

II.

By The Rev. C. H. W. Johns, *M.A.*

(*For Part I, see Vol. XXIV, p.* 235.)

Group I. These five Eponyms are recorded on a fragment of Canon I, K. 4329A, published II R., p. 69, No. 4, *app.* As this fragment has not yet been rejoined to the tablet from which it flaked off, there is no certainty as to the dates of these Eponyms.

The list gives :—

Bêl-(nâ'id)
Ṭâb-šâr-(Sin)
Arba(ilai)
Girza(punu)
Silim-(Ašur).

The restorations, in brackets, are due to the dated documents. These will be quoted by the numbers which they bear in my Assyrian Deeds and Documents (*A.D.D.*). Bêl-nâ'id dates Nos. 56, 153, 154, 470, 780, 993. From Nos. 56 and 470 we learn that he was a Tartan. It is of course conceivable that the name here could be differently restored. The sequence of three Eponymies on No. 993, Bêl-nâ'id, Ṭâb-šar-Sin, and Arbailai, however, renders it practically certain that this is the Eponym meant here. The dates dealt with in Group III remove all doubt.

Ṭâb-šâr-Sin is restored from No. 993, where his Eponymy is named between those of Bêl-nâ'id and Arbailai. But as that document is dated in the last Eponymy there named, we may say there are no documents dated in this year. The Eponym on No. 247, which lies within Group III, bore a name ending perhaps in Sin, and so may possibly be ascribed to this year. The preceding

Eponym being Tartan and the succeeding being *abarakku rabû*, there is some probability that our Eponym was *rab BI-LUL*, but there is no documentary evidence.

Arbailai dates Nos. 586, 782, 993. From the latter the name is here restored. No. 782 gives his title as *abarakku rabû*. G. Smith read the next line to the date on No. 993 as "the priest, the second man," evidently reading the signs *šangû šanû*. But such a title is without parallel among Eponyms, and I read the signs *nikâsu ḳâtâšu*, "property in his hands."

Gir-Zapunu dates Nos. 12, 148, 362, 444. Hence the name is restored with considerable certainty. No other name known to be borne by an Eponym would begin with Girza . . . . Acording to the old order he should have been *nâgir êkalli*.

Silim-Ašur dates No. 233. A person of this name bearing the title *ṣukallu dannu* is a witness to one of Rîmâni-Adadı's deeds No. 470, dated in Bêl-nâ'id's time. Also he has the same title on No. 433, another document in Group III. The sequence of titles recalls that in B.C. 678–675, which was *rab BI-LUL*, *sukallu rabû sukallu šanû*, *abarakku rabû*.

There is no doubt, of course, as to the order of these five, only as to their dates. As we shall see, Group III overlaps them and securely ties them to the end of the Canon, but at what interval from B.C. 666 is uncertain. Group II necessarily follows them, but at what interval is not yet determined. To anticipate results we may say now that this group is fixed to the years B.C. 663–B.C. 659.

Group II. This group of ten names now forms all that is left of the fifth and last column of Canon III, K. 4389, published II R., p. 69, Nos. 3 and 5. This tablet has been put together from some ten small fragments, but the piece on which this group occurs is unbroken. On the whole the tablet contained about six lines to the inch. There were only two columns on the obverse, which were much wider than those on the reverse. In the first column the lines are somewhat closer together than in the second, and two division lines take up the space of about half a line of writing.

On the reverse we find that the scribe wrote the vertical wedges, determinatives of personality, before he wrote in the names. These names are not quite collinear with the verticals, but displaced some half a line above or below the corresponding vertical. In what follows I have compared the levels of the lines, not of the verticals. In Col. III, the right hand column of the reverse, the last line Ištardûri,

B.C. 715, is on the same level as Col. IV, Abirâmu, B.C. 677. Hence Col. IV began with Ašurbânî and had eight names, and only eight, above the horizontal line which marked the accession of Sennacherib. Then came the whole reign of Sennacherib, twenty-four lines, above the line which marked the accession of Esarhaddon. This division line if produced to the left would come below the name Sagabbu. Assuming then that the lines were equally spaced in Cols. V and IV, it is clear that there were exactly 32 lines above Bêl-Ḥarrân-šadûa. Only one division line, marking the accession of Ašurbânipal, was to be expected in Col. V, which would take the same space as that marking the accession of Sennacherib in Col. IV. There is no line on the tablet marking the accession of Esarhaddon, but a line is drawn above the Eponymy of Sennacherib in Col. IV. Now Col. V began with the Eponymy of Nabû-aḫê-iddina, B.C. 675, and this would make Sagabbu B.C. 643, and therefore place Ša-Nabû-šû in B.C. 649. Strassmaier puts him in B.C. 650. There can be no doubt that some such calculation, based upon comparative levels of the names in the adjacent columns, was the ground of Strassmaier's opinion. Peiser, calculating in the same way from the levels as given in the edition of II R., p. 69, puts Aḫê-ilai in B.C. 640, or Ša-Nabû-šû in B.C. 649.

There can be no doubt that G. Smith assigned his date B.C. 656 to Ša-Nabû-šû on quite other grounds. We shall see that Šamaš-šum-ukîn was still alive in the Eponymy of Sagabbu. As according to the Ptolemaïc Canon his successor was on the throne in B.C. 647, G. Smith clearly assigned Šamaš-šum-ukîn's death to B.C. 648, and put Sagabbu one year earlier in B.C. 649. Dr. Peiser adopts a sceptical attitude as to the chronological value of forecast tablets naming Šamaš-šum-ukîn, which might be drawn up much later, as indeed mention of Ḫammurabî or Sargon I and Narâm-sin occurs in the 7th century. But all depends upon how they are named. Dr. Peiser was not able to consult G. Smith's History of Ašurbânipal, which he seems to regard as a slight omission. But had he done so, he must have realised that Sagabbu cannot be later than the war between the royal brothers. In fact we shall see that he cannot be later than the 17th year of Šamaš-šum-ukîn, B.C. 651. Hence Ša-Nabû-šû cannot be later than B.C. 658.

The fact is that in Column V the scribe spaced out the names more widely. While Sagabbu is on the same level as Nabû-šar-uṣur, Amiânu is on the level of Ašur-aḫê-(erba) in Col. IV, in each

case with a small deviation. The whole ten lines in Col. V occupy the space of nearly twelve in Col. IV; 9 lines in Col. V occupy the same space as 10 lines in Col. IV. Hence the number of lines in Col. V above the level of the name Danânu in Col. IV may be reduced from 32 to 27. Thus starting Col. V with Nabû-aḫê-iddina, in B.C. 675, we should date Sagabbu in B.C. 651, or allowing for one division line in B.C. 650. When I first noted this in 1896, I did not know how to reconcile such a date for Sagabbu with what seemed bound to precede him. But now I am aware of cogent reasons connected with the reign of Šamaš-šum-ukîn which practically settle the matter. These must be reserved for a separate article. But it is important to see that the argument from comparative levels independently leads to the same result.

The names in Group II are—

Ša-Nabû-šû
Labasi
Milki-râmu
Amiânu
Ašur-nâṣir
Ašur-ilai
Ašur-dûr-uṣur
Sagabbu
Bêl-Harrân-šadûa
Aḫê-ilai.

Above Ša-Nabû-šu are the traces of another name. Only one sign is partly preserved. It consists of one clear vertical with a short horizontal to the left. This is either part of *si*, or of one of the signs that begin like *GIŠ*. It does not cross the vertical as it would do if it were the trace of *PA* or *DI*. To the right is the bottom of another vertical. I can think of no sign which would suit the traces but *si*. I believe it is the beginning of Silim-Ašur, but must admit it is rather far to the right, directly over *AN* in Nabû. Hence for a long time I thought it might be *PA*, a trace of a name beginning with Nabû. To this possibility I shall return later.

Ša-Nabû-šû dates Nos. 48, 49, 152, 702 and an enquiry of the Šamaš oracle, published in Dr. T. A. Knudtzon's *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, No. 153 (*G.A.S.*). His title is given as *šaḳû* on No. 48. We also find a Ša-Nabû-šû bearing the title *rûbu*, and *rab šaḳê* in *G.A.S.* Nos. 57, 58, where he seems to be in command of

the army, against Mugallu of Melid and Iškallu of Tabal, in the reign of Esarhaddon. Further, in *G.A.S.* No. 75, according to Knudtzon's very probable restorations, Ša-Nabû-šû commanded an army against some part of Ellipi and against the Medes and Gimirri, when Ašurbanipal, as son of Esarhaddon, was acting as king for his father, probably in B.C. 669. Doubtless the same person is intended by Ša-Nabû-šumma, the *rab šaḳû*, in *G.A.S.*, Nos. 17 and 18, who is in command of an army against the city Amul, some time in the reign of Esarhaddon. Further, in *A.D.D.* No. 890 we have mention of Ša-Nabû-šû, a *rab šaḳû*. Consequently I believe that here we have to do with a Rabshakeh. Also I think that in proper names *šumma*, or *šummu*, is a longer form of *šuwwu* or *šû*, so that a proper name like Šumma-Nabû means "Nabû's is he," exactly the same as Ša-Nabû-šû, "He who is Nabû's own."

In this year, B.C. 658, we learn from *G.A.S.* No. 153 that Nabû-šar-uṣur, the *rab šaḳû*, was operating against a host of Urbi in the district of Gambulu. Labasi dates Nos. 646, 647, 648, three charters of Ašurbânipal, conferring privileges upon Nabû-šar-uṣur, his *rab šaḳû*, obviously the one named last year; upon Bulṭai a *rab šekisi* and another. Also he dates 83-1-18, 286 and 287, two astrological reports. His title is given by No. 646, and 83-1-18, 287 as *rab kâri*. Milki-râmu does not date any document preserved, as far I know. From No. 56, it seems that he was *šaknu* of Aššur.

Amiânu dates K. 2411 published by Professor J. A. Craig, *Religious Texts*, p. 76 f., where his name appears as Auiânu. G. Smith gave his title as governor of Babylon. Doubtless the text was clearer then. Dr. Bezold, *Cata.*, p. 441, seems to have had no doubt that the title was something of Bâb-(ili). But Dr. Craig gives traces which render that doubtful. Peiser thinks that a title taken from Babylon must be "simply excluded" before B.C. 648. This is not clear. Ašurbânipal may have regarded Šamaš-šum-ukîn as a subject prince and so have appointed a *šaknu* of Babylon alongside Šamaš-šum-ukîn. This exercise of over lordship may well have been one of the causes of the quarrel between the brothers. In a charter of Šamaš-šum-ukîn's dated at Babylon, in his 9th year, published in Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Part X, No. 5, rev., l. 42, the second witness, Nabû-bêl-uṣur, is a *šaknu*. The title is so unfamiliar in Babylonia, that he can hardly be other than an Assyrian official. Unfortunately

the city of which he was *šaknu* is no longer preserved. But it is difficult to see what *locus standi* the *šaknu* of any other city than Babylon could have in such a document. Hence I regard it as certain that Babylon had its *šaknu*, probably all through the reign of Šamaš-sum-ukîn, and Dr. Peiser's argument against placing Amiânu before B.C. 648 appears ill founded. If any attention at all were paid to appearances, it would be most appropriate for a *šaknu* of Babylon to succeed a *šaknu* of Aššur.

Aṣurnâṣir dates No. 76. His Eponymy is referred to in K. 553, a letter to the king from Nabû-balâṭsu-iḳbi and Iddinîa, see Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (*A.B.L.*), p. 172. Ašur-ilai dates Nos. 96, 379, 387. In the last two he is called *sukallu rabû*.

Aṣur-dûr-uṣur dates Nos. 86, 533, K. 84 a proclamation by Ašurbânipal to the Babylonians, 83–1–18, 85 a letter to the king concerning affairs in Cutha, and K. 455, K. 4728, K. 8904, K. 14283, 82–1–4, 117, so-called forecast tablets. The latter are really of the same nature as the enquiries of the Šamas oracle published by Dr. Knudtzon. As G. Smith saw, from what he was able to consult, there can have been no other explanation than the anxiety with which Ašurbânipal saw rebellion breaking out on every side in Babylonia. The purport of these "forecasts" must be treated separately later.

Sagabbu dates Nos. 333, 574, 698, an astronomical report 83–1–18, 12, see Harper's *A.B.L.*, p. 446; and a long list of "forecasts," K. 4, 102, 159, 303, 375, 385, 392, 396, 401, 1360, 1611, 3061, 3791, 4696, 81–7–27, 136, 82–5–22, 86, 137; Bu. 91–5–9, 208. These show that during this Eponymy was fought the battle between the forces of Ašurbânipal and Šamaš-sum-ukín, which resulted in the defeat of the latter and the blockade of Babylon. In order properly to estimate the data of the bearing of this upon the date to be assigned to Sagabbu, we must first examine the data of the contracts, etc., which come from Babylon during the siege. Suffice to say here that these fix Sagabbu definitely to B.C. 651. From No. 333 we learn that he was a *šaknu*, though the name of the city is not preserved. From K. 396 we learn that he was *bêl paḫâti* of Ḫarrân. Hence it is impossible to identify him with Sailu, who was *rab nuḫatimmê* on No. 435, as Dr. Bezold proposed, *Cata.*, p. 1767 and 2176A. Nor is it likely he could be the same as Nabû-sakip, as Dr. Peiser suggests, for the latter has an entirely distinct set of contemporaries, as will be seen later.

Bêl-Ḫarrân-šadûa, or Bêl-šadûa, as the name is often given, dates Nos. 7, 147, 206, 696, 705, a proclamation of Ašurbânipal's to the Sealanders announcing the appointment of Bêl-ibni to rule over them, see Harper, *A.B.L.*, p. 295 ; a rescript from the king to Nabu-ibašši about Ea-zêr-iḳîša, see Harper, *A.B.L.*, p. 556 ; and a further number of "forecasts," which no longer concern Šamaš-šum-ukîn, who was safely shut up in Babylon, but concern the forces sent against his allies still unsubdued ; K. 3742, 4537, 10532, 10789, 14306 and perhaps K. 10618. Beside these one or two astrological tablets K. 1292, 2077, and K. 279 seem to have no direct bearing on chronology. On K. 1292 he is called *šaknu* of Tyre, on K. 13190, No. 843, *šaknu* of Kar-Ašur-aḫi-iddin, which was the name given by Esarhaddon to the city which he built to rival Tyre. The above historical notices, as we shall see later, could apply to no other time than the suppression of the revolt in Babylonia, as G. Smith already saw when he remarked, "Conquest of Babylon" opposite this year, *Ep. Can.*, p. 70

Aḫê-ilai is certainly the Eponym who, as Aḫi-lî, dates the letter 83–1–18, 263. This was addressed by Ašurbânipal to Indabigaš, king of Elam. There is no room for a separate Eponym Aḫi-lî, as Peiser would have, in B.C. 650, for the evidence of all the above named "forecast" tablets ties Ašur-dûr-uṣur, Sagabbu, and Bêl-Ḫarrân-šadûa to the years B.C. 651–649. Ašurbânipal could only have written to Indabigaš between Bêl-Ḫarrân-šadûa and Nabû-šar-aḫêšu, for the letter is dated in the Eponymy of Aḫi-lî, which is either identical with that of Aḫê-ilai, or falls after it before Nabû-šar-aḫêšu, in whose Eponymy the king of Elam was Ummanâldasi, who wrote K. 359 to Ašurbânipal. Now Bêlšunu falls in the interval, and there are only six years from Sagabbu to Nabû-šar-aḫêšu. So we should have to suppose that Aḫê-ilai was followed after one or two years by Aḫe-lî. But we shall find good reason to suppose the gap between Bêlšunu and Nabû-šar-aḫêšu is filled by other eponyms. So the contention that Aḫê-ilai is distinct from Aḫi-lî is not sound, and the reading Aḫê-Malik, senseless as it is, falls to the ground, and mine and Dr. Bezold's reading Aḫê-ilai remains the only possible one. Dr. Peiser's conjecture that I put the Eponym Aḫê-ilai before B.C. 648 because I identified him with Aḫi-lî, and so regarded him as a contemporary of Indabigaš, is quite incorrect. I put Aḫi-lî here because I could not put him elsewhere, and that led me to enquire into the grounds for reading *-ilai* at the end of proper names

as *Malik*. I could find none, so I suggested that *-ilai* must be a way of writing *ili*', shortened after the *i* of *Aḫi* to *-li*. It is not a proof, but surely a strong presumption. The name Aḫê-ilai appears in various forms of transcription, but G. Smith gave the signs correctly *PAP-MEŠ-AN-A-A* in his *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 321. From No. 853 we learn that Aḫi-ilai was *bêl paḫâti*, or *šaknu* of Nineveh about this time.

A BILINGUAL CHARM.

[PROF. B. MORITZ, of the Khedivial Library at Cairo, has kindly sent me the following notes on the Arabic portion of the above text which I published in *Proceedings*, XXIV, 329.—W. E. CRUM.]

L. 1. عقد لسان should be اعقد (*imperat.*).[1]

L. 2. نقم غريب includes of course the proper name now pronounced *Negme*, i.e. نجم. The next name may be compared with ست العايلة, ست ابود.

L. 4. For الكالم, read الكلام: "that he be not able any more to speak a word."

L. 5. As to the difficult name ⲑⲓⲁⲃⲣ, *cf.* the Sa'idic use of ⲑ as = ⲧϩ If we regard this as = Arabic ش, we may here have the name شجر as an abbreviation (*cf.* شجر الدر, etc.).

L. 6. ϩⲏⲧⲓ = a dialectual pronunciation of هذه.

ϩⲁⲩⲁⲏⲓ is very puzzling. هولاء seems probable; but would an ignorant Coptic writer be familiar with this distinctively literary form?

[1] [This was my original reading; *v.* note, *Proc.* XXIV, p. 330.—W.E.C.]

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

IV.

The Septuagint Text of the Book of Nehemiah.

By Sir Henry H. Howorth, *K.C.I.E.*, *F.R.S.*, *&c.*

(*Continued from p.* 22.)

In regard to the Septuagint version of Chronicles we do not seem to have any continuous portion of it preserved in Greek beyond the first chapter of Esdras A, which is the equivalent of the 35th chapter of the second of the Canonical Chronicles. Like the narrative that follows, this chapter is assuredly part of the Greek Septuagint There seems, however, a probability that the Septuagint text of the books of Chronicles may be preserved in Syriac, in which we have a version differing so much from the Masoretic text that it has been treated by some as a Targum, and, as my friend Mr. Conybeare informs me, in a single Armenian MS. at Echmiadzin, which ought most assuredly to be copied as soon as possible, and put beyond the reach of some disaster. To the Septuagint Chronicles I hope to revert in a future paper. In regard to the Septuagint text of Nehemiah we do not seem to have it preserved anywhere in the versions. It seems perfectly plain to me, however, that while the canonical Nehemiah represents and is taken from Theodotion's translation of that narrative, the concluding nineteen verses of Esdras A have preserved for us a sample of the original Septuagint text of the same narrative. Unfortunately it is only a sample, and as far as I know we have no further continuous materials anywhere extant to enable us to complete that text as it originally stood, as we may possibly have in the case of Chronicles. It is a lamentable

testimony to the enormous and disastrous effect of Origen's labours upon the Bible text, that not only, apparently, was every extant Greek MS. of the Old Testament more or less sophisticated by it, but that virtually a whole book of the Bible, in its Septuagint or primitive form, has thus been lost to us. We can, however, learn something about it in its primitive shape, and we may possibly hope to recover its general tenour in another way. One of the things which must at once strike the student when comparing the text of the canonical Ezra with that of Esdras A, is that they do not terminate at the same point, but the latter book has a narrative consisting of several verses (*i.e.*, Esdras A, chapter ix, verse 37 to verse 55 inclusive) which extends beyond the last verse of the former. As I have said, verses 37–55 of the last chapter of Esdras A do not occur in the canonical book of Ezra, but in the canonical book of Nehemiah. Like the rest of Esdras A, the Greek in which they are written differs verbally and in terminology entirely from the corresponding narrative in the canonical Nehemiah; and there cannot be a doubt that they are taken from two different translations. While the canonical Nehemiah, as we have seen, is almost certainly taken from Theodotion's translation, we can hardly doubt that the verses referred to above from the end of Esdras A, like the rest of that book, come from the Septuagint. This paragraph in Esdras A corresponds to the 73rd verse of the 7th chapter and verses 1–12 of chapter viii of the canonical book of Nehemiah. So that it seems inevitable to conclude that if Esdras A preserves its primitive form, of which we have no reason to doubt, that when the whole work was intact from which this paragraph was taken, the narrative in the mother MS. of Esdras A must have passed directly over the first seven chapters of Nehemiah and taken up the story again with the 8th chapter.

About this the critics are agreed. Thus Reuss, one of the best of them, says, "Der Verfasser dieser Uebersetzung muss einen Text vor sich gehabt haben in welchem die sämmlichen Theile vereinight waren, Neh. 1–7 aber ausgelassen." (*Gesch. des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed., p. 544.)

This is made certain when we turn to Josephus. In the narrative of Josephus, just as in Esdras A, we have a jump over the seven first chapters of Nehemiah, and the story goes on continuously from what is the present termination of Ezra to the 73rd verse of the 7th chapter of Nehemiah; and inasmuch as Josephus, where we can

test him, faithfully follows the Septuagint, we cannot doubt that this was the original order of the narrative in the Septuagint.

The fact is further attested when we turn to the Syriac Catena in the British Museum, already referred to more than once in these pages, where the narrative from Esdras 1 and 2 is professedly taken from the Septuagint, and where precisely the same phenomenon occurs. There cannot be any doubt, therefore, that in the Septuagint the concluding passage of Ezra was immediately followed not by the 1st verse of Nehemiah, but by Nehemiah vii, 73, and was continued at least as far as Nehemiah viii, 12, which coincides with the concluding verse of the present text of Esdras A.

Fortunately this is not all. The fact is that the book of Esdras A ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence, namely, "and there were gathered together." This sentence is the beginning of a fresh paragraph, and of a fresh narrative, and corresponds to part of the 13th verse of the 8th chapter of Nehemiah. The narrative in question in Nehemiah concludes with the last verse of the same chapter. This shows that the text out of which Esdras A was cut as a fragment went on uninterruptedly at least to the end of what is now chapter viii of Nehemiah, and that *the whole* of chapter viii of Nehemiah originally followed immediately upon what is now chapter x of the canonical Ezra.

In the extracts from the Syriac Catena already quoted, one of them dealing with the story told in Nehemiah viii, 13, to the end of the chapter, immediately follows another extract from the earlier part of the chapter, thus completely confirming the induction just made.

For this conclusion the two works just cited would suffice as ample proof, but it is further confirmed by the narrative of Josephus, which reports the resuscitation of the Feast of Tabernacles, as described in the latter part of chapter viii of Nehemiah, immediately after the events related in the earlier part of chapter viii of Nehemiah, and especially refers to the feasting having lasted eight days, as described in Nehemiah, chapter viii, verse 18.

It is therefore quite plain that the whole of chapter viii of Nehemiah (as corrected in regard to its 9th verse as above) has nothing to do with Nehemiah himself or his doings, but is a substantive part of the narrative about Ezra which has been forcibly separated from the latter and put into a quite inconsequential place; and we can hardly doubt that, like the other transpositions and

alterations previously described as occurring in the book of Ezra, this was the handiwork of the redactors of the Masoretic text. It seems plain, at all events, that it was done after the time when the Seventy did their work, and after the time when Josephus wrote his history, and this is a very suggestive fact. Up to this point our evidence is precise and positive; we have now to deal rather more with probability.

Let us first turn to chapter ix of Nehemiah. The greater part of this chapter consists of a kind of confession or sermon, which in the Masoretic version is professedly delivered by a certain number of Levites who are named in verse 5. This fact is in itself inconsequent, since a sermon or confession of this kind could hardly have been thus delivered by a number of men. If we turn to the Greek copies of the book of Nehemiah, which doubtless contain considerable traces of the Septuagint, we shall find that an important clause is missing from the Hebrew text. In the Greek bibles, verse 6, in which the sermon commences, begins with the words, "and Esdras said," thus making it plain that the sermon is Ezra's, and Stade has in fact compared it and shown its resemblance to another sermon of Ezra's preserved in Ezra, chapter ix. This shows that chapter ix of Nehemiah, which refers directly to Ezra, and in which the name Nehemiah does not occur, and which has nothing to do with him and his memoirs, is, like the chapter before it, out of its place. Like it, it belongs in fact to the earlier part of the book dealing with Ezra and his doings, and like it has doubtless been transferred thence by the redactors of the Masoretic text when they re-edited the book, and the dropping out of the mention of Ezra by them was probably intentional.

With the narrative in Nehemiah, chapter ix, it would seem that that portion of the work, Chronicles—Ezra and Nehemiah, relating to the career of Ezre came to an end. It is a very curious fact that we read no more of Ezra in the Bible, we are not told what became of him, when he died, and where he was buried, and Josephus, who does refer to his end, does so in such a jejune fashion that it would almost appear as if he had no independent authority for it. After referring to his installation of the Feast of Tabernacles as described in the 8th chapter of Nehemiah, he merely says, "after he had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem" (*Antiquities*, XI, v, 5). That he died and was buried at Jerusalem was not the tradition of

the Eastern Jews. In the Talmud he is said to have died at Zamzazu on the Tigris, while on his way from Jerusalem to Susa, where he was going to confer with Artaxerxes about the affairs of the Jews. The Eastern Jews still reverence his alleged monument on the banks of the Lower Tigris.

After reporting the death of Ezra and of the high priest Joiakim, Josephus proceeds to tell the story of Nehemiah very much as it is told in the book of Nehemiah, and as he in other places follows the order of the Septuagint, it would seem probable that the narrative of Ezra, followed and completed by chapters viii and ix of the canonical Nehemiah which have been displaced as we have seen, was in the Bible of Josephus itself immediately followed by the so-called memoirs of Nehemiah.

Before we turn to Nehemiah's special memoirs, however, I should like to say a few words about chapter x of Nehemiah. Ezra's prayer ends with verse 37 of chapter ix, and verse 38 begins the next narrative quite incongruously with what goes before and apropos of nothing. There is no continuity whatever in sense or narrative between verses 37 and 38 of chapter ix of Nehemiah. Verse 38 of chapter ix in fact begins the narrative of chapter x. In regard to chapter x, I cannot avoid looking upon it as an undoubted interpolation, and directly attributable either to the compiler of the joint work or to the much later redactors of the Masoretic text.

Let us see: the sermon of Esdras above referred to is followed by the quite incongruous list of people who were sealed with Nehemiah, with which it has nothing to do, and in which Ezra's name does not occur. The text of this chapter apart from the list has nothing to do with the memoirs of Ezra or Nehemiah, and as Sayce ingeniously pointed out, verses 32–38 show that its writer classed himself among the people and the lay-folk such as are described in verses 14–28 (see Sayce, *Introduction to Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah*). The chapter ends abruptly as it begins, and is clearly a separate boulder inserted into the text. I hope to return to it on another occasion.

If we detach chapters viii, ix and x from the book of Nehemiah, we shall find, as is universally admitted among the critics, that the remainder of the book falls into two sections. One of these is written in the first person, and the other in the third. The two sections are not sharply separated from each other, but are themselves discontinuous and mixed up with each other, and it has been generally and very reasonably argued that this was not their original

order, but that they have been torn in pieces and re-arranged. This tearing in pieces and re-arrangement, as in the case of the similar phenomenon in the canonical Ezra, has been generally attributed to the so-called chronicler, *i.e.*, the compiler of the joint books; I believe, on the contrary, that it was due very largely if not altogether to the doctors at Jamnia who first compiled the Masoretic text in its present form.

While the critics are virtually unanimous in regard to the disintegration and dislocation of the original text of Nehemiah (a text which I believe was intact in the Septuagint), they do not quite agree as to the details, and I am not sure that my own solution agrees with any that has hitherto been proposed.

About one point there is no difference: every one agrees that the first six chapters of Nehemiah represent the commencement of the original memoirs of Nehemiah, and that the narrative as contained in these chapters is more or less intact and unaltered. This narrative goes on beyond the end of the 6th chapter, its course being interrupted by the quite artificial lines where the Bible chapters have been drawn, and goes on to the end of the 4th verse of the 7th chapter. Between the 4th and 5th verses of that chapter there is a hiatus in the sense, and the remaining part of chapter vii is really an interpolation, as I believe every one agrees. The narrative after verse 4 has no connection with the passage that goes before it. Verse 4 of the 7th chapter of Nehemiah says, "now the city was wide and large: but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded." The narrative which originally followed this no doubt had some reference to the way in which the difficulty was overcome by Nehemiah, which is the very subject matter of the first verses of the 11th chapter of Nehemiah, whereas verse 4, chapter vii above quoted is followed in the text of Nehemiah by the narrative, "and my God put into my heart to gather together the nobles and rulers and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy, and I found the book of the genealogy of them which came up *at* the first and I found written therein these are the children of the province," etc. There is clearly no connection between the two stories. They are quite incongruous.

Dr. Driver clearly saw that the introduction of this long narrative with the genealogy was an interpolation making a breach in the narrative. These are his words, "provision having been made, chapter vii, 1–3, for the safe custody of the gates, Nehemiah deter-

mines, vii, 4 f., to take measures to augment the number of the residents in the city. *Before, however, describing how he does this, he inserts in his narrative the list found by him of the exiles, who returned with Zerubbabel* * * * * *, vii, 6–73."

With most of this I quite agree, but that it was Nehemiah who inserted this list seems to me quite incredible, nor is it the view of other writers.

This more general view is better represented by Kosters, who says, "the list of those who returned occupies, neither in Ezra nor in Nehemiah (Nehemiah, vii, 6–73), the place to which it rightly belongs. After vii, 1–5, what we should expect to find would be some particulars regarding the population of Jerusalem, but for this we look in vain in the lists here introduced." (*Enc. Bib.*, article, "Ezra Nehemiah.")

It is plain, therefore, that the narrative in question is an entirely foreign and extraneous boulder in the narrative of Nehemiah as we have it, and that it formed no part of the work as originally compiled, but has been since interpolated. When so interpolated the fact was further disguised by the narrative being preceded by the verse, "and my God put it into my heart to gather together the nobles, and the rulers, and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy. And I found the book of the genealogy of them which came up at the first, and I found written therein," etc. These phrases do not occur in the story as told in either Ezra or Esdras A, where the same narrative is duplicated. They are quite inconsistent with the contents of the list, which actually includes Nehemiah himself and his contemporaries, who certainly did not come up "*at the first*" but long after, a fact which could not have been more patent to anybody than to himself, who would hardly have made the mistake in his own memoirs. It is inconsistent also with the fact that Nehemiah should speak of *finding* a book of genealogy containing *his own name* and others of his standing, and that he should refer to them in the third person, when he had been speaking all along in the first, and it is, in fact, in every way a palpable invention to cover a gap in the sense caused by the interpolation.

It seems to me therefore that in trying to recover the original Septuagint form of the Book of Nehemiah, we must strike out of the present book the long duplicated narrative from verse 5 of chapter vii to verse 1 of chapter viii inclusive, as an interpolation either of the original compiler or of the Masoretic text.

I shall have a good deal more to say about this interpolated passage on another occasion. I will now pass on again; as we have already seen, the passage from Nehemiah (Nehemiah viii, 1 to the end of chapter ix) originally formed part of the story of Ezra, and followed directly after the story in the present book of Ezra. If we exclude this narrative, it brings us to chapter x of Nehemiah. This was, as we have seen, another interpolation, or it is at all events not in its right place. Passing on again we come to chapter xi. There, as has been noticed by many critics, we at length meet again with a continuation of Nehemiah's memoirs, and the narrative goes from one passage of these memoirs to the other quite continuously; thus Nehemiah vii, verse 4, reads, "now the city was wide and large; but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded." To this the perfectly natural continuation is Nehemiah xi, verse 1, which reads, "and the princes of the people dwelt in Jerusalem; the rest of the people also cast lots to bring one in ten to dwell in Jerusalem, the holy city, and nine parts in the other cities." It seems clear therefore that the memoirs of Nehemiah contained in chapters i–vii 4 of that book were continued by verses 1 and 2 of chapter xi. These two verses seem to me to stand alone, and the rest of chapter xi down to the end of verse 26 of chapter xii form another extraneous boulder, an interpolation incorporated at a later stage, and breaking the continuity of Nehemiah's memoirs.

There is an obvious and patent breach in the narrative and sense between verses 26 and 27 of chapter xii, which has been admitted by all the scientific critics who do not follow Havernick and Keil in their obsolete methods of exegetic analysis. On the other hand, there has been a general agreement that with the exception of the references to Ezra in verses 33 and 37 of chapter xii, the narrative from verse 27 of that chapter to the end of chapter xiii, that is to the end of the book, is part of Nehemiah's memoirs.

The position here maintained is so reasonable, and removes so many difficulties, that it seems a pity that the Bible narrative has not been long ago reintegrated by thus bringing all the pieces of Nehemiah's memoirs together into one continuous story and making it follow on continuously upon Ezra's memoirs. I believe it to be exceedingly probable that this was the order of the story as it appeared in the original Septuagint text of Nehemiah.

The arrangement here proposed, it will be seen, gives no countenance to the extraordinary inversion of the story suggested and

supported by Van Hoonacker and Kosters, by which the career of Ezra is made to follow that of Nehemiah, a view so far as I can see, quite unsupported by any of the literary evidence.

If the views here maintained are right, the only parts of Nehemiah unaccounted for would be the very parts which are so full of contradiction and difficulty, namely, those contained in Nehemiah vii, 5–73; ix, 38—x, 39 inclusive; and xi, 3—xii, 26. These passages consist almost entirely of genealogies and of lists of names, and their explanation has caused much heartburning.

That they form no integral part of the so-called memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah is generally agreed. Some of the most orthodox writers are quite at one on this issue. Thus Canon Rawlinson, a rigid conservative among critics, after discussing two of the lists, *i.e.*, those in chapter xi, 1–24 and xi, 25–36, says "the other lists have no necessary or very natural connection with the general narrative of Nehemiah, and it is uncertain whether they formed any part of the original book, or were added by a later hand."

I do not hold the current view in regard to these alterations, for I believe the Rabbis at Jamnia had more to do with them than "the compiler," but I shall postpone their consideration to another paper. The present one has been devoted to an attempt to reconstruct the original text of Nehemiah on inductive grounds. That that text has been in some measure dislocated and disarranged by the original editors of the Masoretic text is plain and widely admitted. The evidence of Esdras A and Josephus is conclusive about its having taken place after the time of Josephus, and the real question is the amount and degree to which this dislocation thus took place. It is surely time that some effort were made to come to an agreement upon scientific grounds by which the Bible story in these books may be presented to ingenuous readers in a fashion which does not raise continuous doubt and difficulty, and which we believe to have been its original form and order.

Correction.—In Part I of this series of Papers, page 157, line 26, I have given a reference to "Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*," it should have been "Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*." Also, Dr. Gwynn's name should not be spelt with an "e."

THE DECALOGUE AND DEUTERONOMY IN COPTIC.

By W. E. Crum.

The remarkable combination of the text of Deuteronomy vi. 4 with that of the Decalogue, which the Hebrew papyrus recently edited by Mr. Cook (*Proceedings*, XXV, p. 34) exhibits, can be in some degree paralleled from a very different source—a Coptic Service-book, of very unusual type, of the 13th century,[1] fragments of which are in the British Museum[2] (Or. 5638. 1 and 5641). The MS. came, like the large majority of Bohairic books, from the Nitrian monasteries, and is of course on paper. The first fragment consists of two imperfect leaves, paged 5 and 6. Opposite the Coptic text is its literal translation in Arabic.

These two leaves show Deut. v. 23–vi. 3, with *lacunae* in verses 26, 30, 1 and 3, due to the loss of the bottoms of the leaves. Before vi. 3, however, is inserted the text of the Decalogue, or, it may be, that of v. 16 ff. A *lacuna* has unfortunately deprived us of Commandments 1–4; but these cannot have been in their full form, the number of lines lost being too few for any but an abbreviated version. The text, printed below, will be seen to differ markedly both from the Greek and from Wilkins's and Lagarde's published Pentateuchs.[3] In secondary details it here and there agrees with the Sa'idic (*ed.* Ciasca); but on the whole it appears independent. The order of Commandments 6 and 7 (*cf.* the Hebrew papyrus) and the omission of the 9th are to be observed; also the use of 'beast' (= κτῆνος) instead of 'ass' in the 10th.

[1] *Cf.* script of Hyvernat's *Album*, pll. i or lii, 2.

[2] Numbered respectively 713 and 787 in my forthcoming Catalogue.

[3] Prof. Swete and the Rev. A. E. Brooke have examined the text. Its readings are unknown to them, except for a chance coincidence with certain cursives. The Arabic version, it need hardly be said, is similarly divergent from that of Lagarde's MS. (BM. or. 442, fol. 318*b*).

(v. 23) ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓϧⲉⲗⲗⲟⲓ ⲉⲥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉϩⲛⲡⲡⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲥⲁⲭⲓ ϧⲉⲛⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲙⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛⲡⲁⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲓ ⲭⲉⲉϣⲱⲛ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲛⲭⲉ ⲫϯ ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ (sic) ⲙⲡⲉϥⲱⲛϧ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲉϣⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲉϣⲱⲛ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ (26) ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫϯ ϧⲉⲛⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲙⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲉϥⲟ(?)[ⲛϧ]

(27) ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲑⲟⲕ ⲉⲛⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲙⲫϯ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉϥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ (28) ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲭⲉ ⲫϯ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲓ ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲛⲓ ⲭⲉⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ (29) ϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲁⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ϣⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲓ (30) ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲑⲟⲕ ⲕⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛϣⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲕⲟϩⲓ ⲛⲑⲟⲕ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲁϯⲥⲃⲱ [ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲛⲁ]ⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ

(31) ⲑⲏ ⲉϯⲛⲁⲧⲛⲓⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲛⲓⲁ (32) ⲛⲑⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲡ̅ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ⲁ̅ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲭⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲣⲓⲕⲓ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲭⲁϭⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ (33) ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥϯ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲭⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲟϣⲓ ⲛϧⲏⲧϥ ⲑⲣⲉϥⲛⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ϣⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲕⲉϣⲱⲛⲓ ⲛϩⲁⲛⲛⲏϣ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲭⲉⲛⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ (vi. 1) ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲓⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ(?) ⲛⲭⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅

ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲣϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲛⲱⲓⲕ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲡⲉⲣϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓⲛ ⲉϯⲥϩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲡⲉⲕϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲉϩⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲧⲉⲃⲏⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲁⲓ

(sic)
ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ (3) ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲁ ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲁⲛⲉϥ ϣⲟⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲧⲉϥⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲟⲕ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲭⲟⲥ ⲛⲭⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲓⲟϯ ϩⲟⲡⲥⲟⲥ
ⲙⲧⲉϥϯ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲉϥⲃⲉⲃⲓ.

The second fragment of our MS. comprises eight leaves, of which foll. 1–7 show a series of prayers, while fol. 8 has Deut. xvi. 3–10, in a version as peculiar as that of the earlier passage here printed. The prayers I have not succeeded in identifying.

A RELIC OF AMENHOTEP III.

This object is the butt-end of the handle of a Sepulchral Axe. It is made of a very hard violet-glazed faïence. The cartouche and hieroglyphs are incised and filled in with a pale blue paste.

At the back is a rectangular socket, by which the wooden shaft of the axe was fastened to the butt. The object was brought from Thebes many years ago, and may very probably have come from the king's tomb in the Western Valley.

W. L. Nash.

THE TRANSLITERATION OF EGYPTIAN.

Errata to Dr. Naville's letter, *Proceedings*, XXV, 57.

In order that Dr. Naville's letter on this subject might appear in the January *Proceedings*, the proof was not sent to Geneva for correction; in consequence, many mistakes appear in the print. Besides errors in grammar, punctuation, and accentuation—which, although regrettable, do not materially alter the sense—the following mistakes should be noted by Members in the copies they have already received:—

Page 57,	line 6,	"en progrès"	*should read*	"un progrès."
„ „	„ 20,	"à bon sens"	„ „	"à mon sens."
„ 58	„ 15,	"s'adoptait"	„ „	"s'adaptait."
„ 59	„ 3,	"Pour chacun"	„ „	"Pour chacune."

It may be said in excuse that Dr. Naville's handwriting is of the most difficult character.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, March 11th, 1903, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

E. J. PILCHER: "The Jews of the Dispersion, in Roman Galatia."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
——— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
——— La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
——— La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte.
AMIAUD, A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeshichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
Berlin Museum. Ægyptische Urkunden.
,, ,, Griechische und Koptische Urkunden.
BISSING, BARON VON, "Metalgefässe" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
BUDGE, E. A. WALLIS, *Litt. D.*, "The Mummy."
——— Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862–1873.
CRUM, W. E., "Coptic Monuments" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
DARESSY, G., "Ostraca" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).
——— "Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).
DELITSCH, Das Babylonische Weltschopfungs Epos.
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——— 2nd series, 1869.
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EBERS, G., Papyrus Ebers.
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Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.

GOLÉNISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
——————— Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection de.
GRANT-BEY, Dr., The Ancient Egyptian Religion and the Influence it exerted on the Religions that came in contact with it.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
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JOACHIM, H., Papyros Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
KUSSMETTER, Der Occultesmus des Altertums des Akkader, Babyloner, Chaldaer, &c.
LEDERER, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berücksichtigung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.
LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2me partie. "Osiris."
LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
LEHMANN, Samassumukin König von Babylonien 668 v. Chr., p. xiv, 173; 47 plates.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
MARIETTE, "Monuments divers."
——————— "Dendera."
MARUCHI, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia.
MASPERO, G., "Annales du service des Antiquités de l'Égypte."
MÜLLER, D. H., Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien.
POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
——————— Recherches sur la Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.
SCHAEFFER, Commentationes de papyro medicinali Lipsiensi.
SCHOUW, Charta papyracea graece scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
STRAUSS and TORNEY, Der Altägyptische Götterglaube.
VISSER, I., Hebreeuwsche Archaeologie. Utrecht, 1891.
WALTHER, J., Les Découvertes de Nineve et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890.
WILCKEN, M., Actenstücke aus der Königl. Bank zu Theben.
WILTZKE, Der Biblische Simson der Ägyptische Horus-Ra.
WINCKLER, HUGO, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna. Vols. I and II.
——————— Textbuch-Keilinschriftliches zum Alten Testament.
WESSELEY, C., Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El Fajum.
Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl Gesellsch., Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
ZIMMERN, H., Die Assyriologie als Hülfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1903.

Third Meeting, 11*th March*, 1903.

F. D. MOCATTA, Esq., *F.S.A.*, Vice-President,

IN THE CHAIR.

The Council regrets to have to record the death of the Rev. James Anderson, D.D., for many years a Member of the Society.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From W. L. Nash, *F.S.A.*:—Index of Archæological Papers published in 1891–1901.

From the Author, Prof. E. Lefébure.—La Politique Réligieuse des Grecs en Lybie. 8vo. Alger. 1902.

From E. S. M. Perowne.—Bulletins of the Congress of Orientalists held at Hamburg. 1902.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society:—

Rev. M. Graves, Turville Vicarage, Henley-on-Thames.

Manchester College, Oxford.

Mrs. Edmonds, Durban, Natal, S. Africa.

The following Paper was read:—

E. J. PILCHER: "The Jews of the Dispersion in Roman Galatia."

Remarks were added by Rev. W. T. Pilter, Rev. Dr. Löwy, Rev. J. Marshall, and the Chairman. Mr. Pilcher replied. Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L., etc.*

(*Continued from page* 70.)

CHAPTER CLI.

(*a*) Words of Anubis.

Thy right eye is in the Sektit boat, thy left eye is in the Âtit boat. Thy eyebrows are with (1) Anubis, thy fingers are with Thoth, thy locks are with Ptah Sokaris; they prepare for thee a good way, they smite for thee the associates of Sut.

(*b*) Said by Isis. I have come as thy protector *N.* with the breath coming forth from Tmu. I shall strengthen for thee thy throat. I give thee to be like a god. I will put all thy enemies under thy feet.

(*c*) Said by Nephthys. I go round my brother Osiris *N.* I have come as thy protector. I am myself behind thee for ever, hearing when thou art addressed by Rā, and when thou art justified by the gods. Arise, thou art justified through all that has been done for thee. Ptah has smitten thy enemies; thou art Horus the son of Hathor. It has been ordered what should be done for thee. Thy head will not be taken away from thee for ever.

(*d*) Words of the figure of the Northern wall.

He who cometh to enchain, I shall not let him enchain thee. He who cometh to throw bonds, I shall not let him throw bonds on thee. I am here to throw bonds on thee. I am here to enchain thee; but I am thy protector. (2)

(*e*) Words of the Tat of the Western wall.

Come in haste, and turn away the steps of *Kep-her*. Bring light into his hidden abode. I am behind Tat, I am verily behind Tat, on the day when the slaughter is repelled. I am the protector of *N.* (3)

(*f*) Words of the flame of the Southern wall.

I have spread sand around the hidden abode, repelling the aggressor that I might throw light on the mountain. I have illuminated the mountain. I have turned the direction of the sword. I am the protector of *N.* (4)

(*g*) Said by Anubis in his divine hall, the lord of Ta-Tsert. I keep watch over thy head. Awake, thou on the mountain. Thy wrath is averted. I have averted thy furious wrath. I am thy protector. (5)

(*h*) The two figures of the soul, with raised hands.

The living soul, the powerful Chu of *N.* worships the sun when he ariseth on the Eastern horizon of the sky.

The living soul of *N.* adoreth Rā, when he setteth in the land of the living, on the Western horizon of the sky.

(*i*) Words of the two statuettes. (6)

O statuette there! Should I be called and appointed to do any of the labours that are done in the Netherworld, by a person according to his abilities, to plant fields, to water the soil, to convey the sand from East to West; here am I, whithersoever thou callest me.

Words of the genii of the four cardinal points.

(*k*) I am Kebehsenuf. I have come to be thy protector. I have joined thy bones. I have strengthened thy limbs. I have brought thee thy heart and put it in its place, into thy body. I will cause thy house to prosper after thee.

(*l*) I am Hapi thy protector. I have revived thy head and thy limbs. I have smitten thy enemies under thee. I give thee thy head for ever.

(*m*) I am Tuamautef. I am thy son Horus, I have come, and I rescue my father from the evil doer, whom I put under thy feet.

(*n*) I am Emsta. I have come, I am thy protector. I cause thy house to prosper permanently, according to the command of Ptah, according to the command of Rā himself.

NOTES.

With chapter 151 begins a series of texts written either on the walls of the funeral chamber or on the mummy cloth, or on various amulets. This series goes as far as 160, with the exception of 152 and 153, which have been inserted there without any apparent reason.

Chapter 151 is not so much a text as a picture. It represents the funeral chamber. The four walls, which should be vertical, are drawn lying flat on the ground. In the middle of the chamber, under a canopy, is the mummy, on which Anubis lays his hands; under the bed is a bird with a human head, the symbol of the soul of the deceased. We must suppose that the god Anubis is a priest or a member of the family who has put on a jackal's head, and who pronounces the words said to be those of the god. At the foot of the bed are the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys.

Each of the four walls had a small niche of the exact size of an amulet, which was lodged in it. We know it from the four oriented steles of Marseilles (Naville, *Les quatre stèles orientées du Musée de Marseille*), where we find the text belonging to each wall and also the niche cut in the stone for each amulet. On the North was a human figure, on the South a flame, on the East a jackal, on the West a Tat.

In the chamber were four so-called canopic vases, with the gods of the four cardinal points, each of whom has his words to say. Besides these were statuettes called *shabti* or *ushabti*, the helpers of the deceased in his work in the Elysian fields. In the papyrus London, 10010 (*Af.*), from which this chapter is translated, one of them has the usual appearance, the other the head of Anubis.

The soul of the deceased is supposed to be in the chamber, and to worship the rising and the setting sun.

Very few papyri have this chapter as complete as *Af.*, which is taken here as standard for text and vignettes, but there are fragments of it here and there. The Turin version is much shorter than the old one. The papyrus of *Nu* (ed. Budge) contains the texts of the four walls with rubrics very similar to those of the steles in Marseilles.

They form a special chapter joined to 137A, with the title: *What is done secretly in the Tuat, the mysteries of the Tuat, the introduction into the mysteries of the Netherworld.*

In order to facilitate the understanding of the chapter, I have lettered the words spoken by the various figures.

1. Renouf would have translated (see chapter 42), thy eyebrows are *those of* Anubis; but the following chapter shows that we have to translate *with* Anubis, which should mean here, under the protection of Anubis.

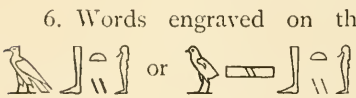
2. The rubrics say the figure is made of palm wood, and is seven fingers high.

3. The rubric of this Tat is the following: *said on a Tat of crystal, the branches of which are of gold. It is folded up in fine linen.*

There is another chapter of the Tat put on the neck of the deceased (chapter 155), the words of which are totally different.

4. According to the rubric, the flame is a torch made of reeds (Loret).

5. The Anubis was made of clay.

6. Words engraved on the funerary statuettes called  or , an abridged form of chapter 6, for which I take Renouf's translation.

CHAPTER CLIA *bis.*

Said by Anubis Amut, in his divine hall, when he puts his hands over the body of *N.*, and provides him with all that belongs to him.

Hail to thee, beautiful face, lord of sight, sacred eye lifted up by Ptah Sokaris, raised by Anubis, and to which Shu has given its stand.

Beautiful face, which art among the gods, thy right eye is in the Sektit boat, thy left eye is in the Âtit boat; thy eyebrows are a pleasant sight among the gods. Thy front is in the protection of Anubis, thy back is pleasant to the venerable hawk. Thy fingers (1) are well preserved in writing before the lord of Hermopolis, Thoth, the giver of written words. Thy locks are beautified before Ptah Sokaris.

N. is welcome among the gods ; he sees the great god, he is led on the good roads, he is presented with funerary offerings, his enemies are beaten down under him in the house of the Prince of Heliopolis (2).

NOTES.

The words spoken by Anubis in chapter 151 have been taken out and made into a special chapter, which in papyrus London, 9900 (Aa) occurs in two different forms. I called them CLIA *bis* and CLIA *ter*, the second one being only an abridgement of the first. Vignettes and titles are not the same for these two chapters. That translated, CLIA *bis*, is the longest of the two. The title of the other one is · the *Chapter of the Mysterious Head*, and the vignette thereof consists of a mummy's head.

In comparing this chapter with the words of Anubis we had before, we find the explanation of expressions like this : thy eyebrows are with Anubis.

(1) |||. This word has always been translated *fingers*, a sense which is evidently wrong in this place, where parts of the head only are mentioned, and when one would expect the hair or the beard.

I suppose that this obscure sentence means that since everything in him is divine, the design or colour of his fingers (?) was taken from the books of Thoth.

(2) See note 8 on Chapter 1.

CHAPTER CLII.

The chapter of building a house (1) *on earth.*

O rejoice, Seb, *N.* has been set in motion with his vital power . . . . . he has given to men and gods their creative strength.

There is cheering, when it is seen that Seshait (2) has come towards Seb ; when Anubis has commanded to *N.* : build a house on earth, the foundations of which be like On, and the circuit like Cher-ābā ; let the god of the sanctuary be in the sanctuary. I also decree that it should contain the sacrificial victim, brought by slaves, and held up by ministrants.

Said by Osiris to the gods in his following: come hastily, and see the house which has been built for the glorified, the well equipt, who cometh every day. Look at him, hold him in awe, and give him praise, which is well pleasing to him.

(3) You see what I have done myself, I the great god who cometh every day. Look ye, Osiris brings me cattle, the south wind brings me grain, the north wind brings me barley as far as the end of the earth.

I have been exalted by the mouth of Osiris (4), applause surrounds him (5) on his left and on his right.

Look ye, men, gods, and Chus, they applaud him, they applaud him, and I am well pleased.

NOTES.

The text here translated is that of the Papyrus of Nu, with a few variants taken from contemporary texts.

1. The here mentioned is the abode of the , where it is worshipped and receives offerings. In the vignette of Pap. Busca (Ik), the plan of this abode is like the funerary constructions discovered at Nagadah and Abydos.

2. The goddess is often connected with building (chapter 52).

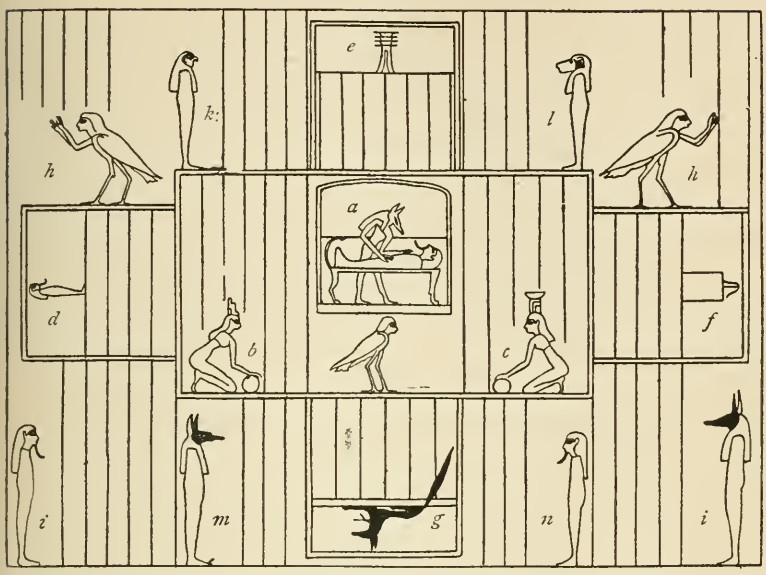
3. Here the deceased begins to speak himself.

4. I translate the beating in measure as the musicians do, the regular applause so often heard in the East.

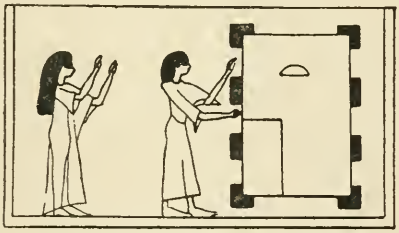
5. The person changes, as is often the case in such texts. The deceased speaks of himself in the third person.

(*To be continued.*)

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER 151. Papyrus, British Museum, 10010.



CHAPTER 152. Papyrus, Busca.

CHAPTER 151A *ter*.
Papyrus, B.M., 9900.

CHAPTER 152.
Papyrus, Louvre, III, 93.

DISCOVERY OF THE TOMB OF THOTHMES IV AT BIBÂN EL-MULÛK.

[The following is an extract from a letter dated February 10, 1903, which I have received from Mr. Percy E. Newberry, who wrote from Thebes.—W. L. N.]

The Members of the Society of Biblical Archæology will be interested in hearing that Mr. Howard Carter, Inspector-General of Antiquities in Upper Egypt, has discovered the tomb of Thothmes IV in one of the South-Eastern cliffs of the Bibân el-Mulûk. In front of it was found a set of Foundation-deposits, such as have often been discovered in the foundations of ancient Egyptian temples and other buildings. In plan the tomb is similar to that of Amenhetep II, but it has only one painted chamber, and the doorway of the sarcophagus chamber had been closed with squared stones covered with plaster, and sealed with a stamp-seal bearing the design of a jackal above nine prisoners with their arms tied behind them. From an inscription in the tomb, written in hieratic script, it appears that the funeral furniture had been partly plundered previously to the eighth year of king Horemheb, for in that year—the latest of that king of which we have any record—the inscription tells us that the burial was "renewed" by the Superintendent of the Treasury by the order of Horemheb, and traces of this "renewal" were found in the repairs to broken vases, &c.

The tomb was again plundered at some later date (probably after the removal of the body of the king to the tomb of Amenhetep II), and every fragment of metal stolen from it, and all woodwork, as well as vases of stone and of glazed-ware, was broken in pieces. By far the most important object found, however, is the front of the king's triumphal chariot, embossed with scenes representing the monarch seated in his chariot, and slaying his enemies. This is a marvellous piece of artistic work, and will rank among the most splendid specimens of Egyptian art. Some idea of the number of antiquities found may be formed from the fact that we employed seventy-three men and boys to bring them from the tomb to the Government House here. It will take Mr. Carter and myself a week or more to make a catalogue of all the objects found,

and this will be published as soon as possible. My friend Mr. Theodore M. Davis, who has provided the money for clearing the royal tombs in the Bibân el-Mulûk, having also promised to pay the cost of publication.

PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

NOTES.

HA-MHYT.

GODDESS OF THE MENDESIAN NOME.

FULL SIZE.

Figures of this goddess are rarely met with. In LANZONI, *Diz. Mit.*, Vol. II, Pl. CCXII, is an illustration of a bronze figure of her, in the Louvre Museum, which represents her seated on a throne which is raised on a lotus-head column. This is the only figure of which I have found any mention. Drawings of the goddess will be found in MARIETTE'S *Denderah*, and in LEPSIUS' *Denkmäler*.

In the stele of Mendes she is described as "Ha-mhyt, the powerful one of Mendes, the wife of the god in the temple of the Bull, the eye of the Sun, the lady of heaven, the ruler of all the gods." Her son is called "Harpachred in Dad."

The annexed illustration is a photograph of a figure made of a very fine green glazed faïence, which was found at Eshmûnên. The goddess wears the fish emblem of the Mendesian nome surmounting a crown of uræi. The inscription on the back is blundered, and reads Hen-hytt.

W. L. NASH.

GILGAMEŠ AND THE HERO OF THE FLOOD.

By Theophilus G. Pinches, *LL.D.*

The inscription to which I wish to call attention in this Paper, is one of some importance, but has to a certain extent been eclipsed by the more remarkable finds of the French expedition to Susa, concerning one of which—the Code of Ḫammurabi—I read a short Paper before the Society in November last.

The fragment upon which this text is inscribed was purchased, for the Berlin Museum, by Dr. Bruno Meissner, at Baghdad. He came across it, he says, in the shop of an antiquity-dealer there, among a number of tablets from Abu-habbah. From the photographic reproductions which accompany his Paper,[1] it is easy to see that it is the lower part of a fairly large tablet inscribed with two columns of text on each side, the whole containing 58 lines of, for the most part, well-preserved writing. The fragment, which is about 6⅛ in. wide, gives about one-third of the whole text, the portions preserved being the lower parts of Columns I and II, and the upper parts of III and IV. It will thus be seen that there are considerable gaps, which cannot, at present, be filled up. As additions to, or duplicates of, inscriptions with which we are acquainted are found from time to time, it is not at all unlikely that the wanting portions of this may likewise sooner or later come to light.

A reproduction of my pen and ink copy will be found on the accompanying plate.

[1] *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1902, 1. *Ein altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgamosepos*, von Bruno Meissner. Mit 4 Aetzungen und 2 Lichtdruck-Tafeln. Wolf Peiser Verlag.

Transcription.

COLUMN I.

(Reckoning the missing portion at two-thirds, the first line preserved would correspond roughly with line 31 of the complete text.)

1. . . ri-mi ti-ḫu-nu (?) . . . . . .
2. . . ba (?)-nu (?) ma-aš-ki-šu-nu i-ik-ka-al ši-ra-am
3. . . . Pu-ra-tim D.P. Giš ša la ib-ši-a ma-ti-i-ma
4. [ma-]ti-i-ma me-e i-ri-id-di ša-ri
5. D.P. Šam-šu i-ta-šu-uš i-da-ak-ku-uš-su
6. iz-za-kar-am a-na D.P. Giš
7. D.P. Giš e-eš ta - da - al
8. ba-la-tam ša ta-sa-aḫ-ḫu [2]-ru la tu-ut-ta
9. D.P. Giš a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-kar a-na ku-ra-di-im D.P. Šam-ši
10. iš-tu e-li ṣi-ri-im a-ta-al-lu ki da-li-im
11. i-na li-ib-bu er-ṣi-tim sa-ka-bu-um [3] ma-du-u
12. at-ti-il-lam-ma ka-lu ša-na-tim
13. i-na-ya ša-am-ša-am li-ip-tu-la-a-ma [4] na-wi-ir-tam lu-uš-bi
14. ri-ki-e-it ik-li-tum ki ma-ṣi na-wi-ir-tum
15. ma-tim mi-tum li-mu-ra-am ša-ru-ru D.P. Šam-ši

COLUMN II.

(The same amount is wanting here as at the beginning of Col. I.)

1. it-ti-ia it-ta-al-la-ku ka-lu mar-ṣa-[a-tim]
2. En-ki (Ea)-du ša a-ra-am-mu-šu da-an-ni-iš [5]
3. it-ti-ia it-ta-al-la-ku ka-lu mar-ṣa-a-t[im]
4. il-li-ik-ma a-na ši-ma-tu a-wi-lu-tim
5. ur-ri û mu-ši e-li-šu ab-ki
6. u-ul ad-di-iš-šu a-na ki-bi-ri-im
7. ib-ri-ma îlu i-ta-ab-bi-a-am a-na ri-ig-mi-ia

[2] Miswritten [illegible] instead of [illegible].

[3] So I am inclined to read instead of *kak-ka-bu-um*.

[4] Dr. Meissner points out that *littulāma* (for *liṭṭulāma*, from *naṭālu*) is the reading required here, and suggests either a mistake on the part of the scribe or a new value for [illegible] (*ip*), namely, *it*. Perhaps, however, there is a verb *batālu* or *patālu*, synonymous with *naṭālu*.

[5] There is probably nothing lost at the end of l. 2.

8. si-bi-it û-mi-im û si-bi mu-ši-a-tim
9. a-ki tu-ul-tum im-ku-ut i-na ab-bi-šu [6]
10. iš-tu wa-ar-ki-šu u-ul u-ta ba-la-tam
11. at-ta-na-ag-gi-iš ki-ma ḫa-bi-ši ga-ba-al-tu ṣi-ri
12. i-na-an-na sa-bi-tum a-ta-mar pa-ni-ki
13. mu-tam ša a-ta-na-ad-da-ru a-ya-a-mu-ur
14. sa-bi-tum a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-kar-am a-na D.P. Giš

COLUMN III.

1. D.P. Giš e-eš ta-da-a-al
2. ba-la-tam ša ta-sa-aḫ-ḫu-ru la tu-ut-ta
3. i-nu-ma îlāni ib-nu-u a-we-lu-tam
4. mu-tam iš-ku-nu a-na a-we-lu-tim
5. ba-la-tam i-na ga-ti-šu-nu iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu [7]
6. at-ta D.P. Giš lu-ma-li ka-ra-aš-ka
7. ur - ri û mu-ši ḫi-ta-at-tu at-ta
8. û-mi-ša-am šu-ku-un ḫi-du-tam
9. ur - ri û mu-ši su-ur û me-li-il
10. lu ub-bu-bu zu - ba - tu - ka
11. ga-ga-ad-ka lu-me-si me-e lu ra-am-ka-ta
12. zu-ub-bi ṣi-iḫ-ra-am ṣa-bi-tu ga-ti - ka
13. mar-ḫi-tum li-iḫ-ta-ad-da-a-am (?) i-na su-ni-ka (?)
14. an-na-ma ši-pir (?) . . . . . .
15. . . . . .

(About thirty lines are wanting here.)

COLUMN IV.

1. šu-nu-ti iḫ-ta-ab-bi-a-am i-na uz-zi-šu
2. i-tu-ra-am-ma iz-za-az e-li-šu
3. su-ur-su-na-bu i-na-at-ta-lam i-ni-šu
4. su-ur-su-na-bu a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-kar-am a-na D.P. Giš
5. ma-an-nu-um šu-um-ka ki-bi-a-am ya-ši-im
6. a-na-ku su-ur-su-na-bu ša u-ta-na-iš-tim ru-u-ki-im
7. D.P. Giš a-na ša-a-šum iz-za-kar-am a-na su-ur-su-na-bu
8. D.P. Giš šu-mi a-na-ku

[6] For *appi-šu*.
[7] For *iṣtabtu*, in accordance with the usual manner of writing the word.

9. ša al-li-kam iš-tu ṣi-ba ê-an-ni
10. ša ku (?)-uš (?)-ra-am ša-di-i
11. ur-ḫa-am ri-ki-e-im[8] wa-ṣi (?) D.P. Šam-ši
12. i-na-an-na su-ur-su-na-bu a-ta-mar pa-ni-ka
13. ku-ul-li-ma-an-ni u-ta-na-iš-tim ri-ga-am
14. su-ur-su-na-bu a-na ša-a-šum [iz-za-kar-am] a-na D.P. Giš

. . . . . .

(The number of the lines lost here depends upon the space occupied by the colophon, but can hardly be more than thirty.)

As I was unable, through circumstances beyond my control, to revise this inscription, on the occasion of my last visit to Berlin, as thoroughly as I should have liked to do, the above readings are based mainly upon those of Meissner and Messerschmidt. The portion which I was able to verify, however, spoke well for the correctness of the rest, and I have carefully compared the text with the photographic reproductions appended to Dr. Meissner's Paper.

Translation.

COLUMN I.

1. ". . . . . .
2. [*he strips off* (?)] *their skin, he eats the flesh,*
3. (*and*) *the Euphrates, Gilgameš, which never existed* (*here*)—
4. *Ever the wind drives the water away.*"
5. *Šamaš was troubled, he summoned him,*
6. *He called then to Gilgameš:*
7. "*Gilgameš, why wanderest thou around?*
8. *The life which thou seekest, wilt thou not find.*"
9. *Gilgameš said to him, to the warrior Šamaš:*
10. "*Since in*[9] *the desert I have roamed* (?) *as a wanderer,*
11. *In the midst of the earth a barrier is set*[10]
12. *I slept then* (*there*) *the whole of the years.*
13. *Let my eyes see the sun, and let me be satisfied with brightness;*
14. *Darkness remaining far, that sufficient be the brightness—*
15. *May the dead who has died see the glory of the sun.*"

[8] Meissner: *tam* (𒀀).

[9] Lit. over.

[10] This is a very difficult line, the doubtful words being *sakabum madû*. I am inclined to think, however, that we have in *sakabum* the *sakkabu* of W.A.I., II, 23, col. II, l. 36, where this word is explained by *mîdilu*, "bolt," etc.

COLUMN II.

"\. . . . . .

1. *With me has he undergone all misfortunes.*
2. *Êa-du whom greatly I love—*
3. *With me has he undergone all misfortunes—*
4. *Now is he gone to the fate of mankind.*
5. *Day and night have I wept over him,*
6. *I gave him not up for burial.*
7. *A god looked, and arose at my voice.*[11]
8. *Seven days and seven nights,*
9. *As a worm he fell*[12] *on his face.*
10. *Since (the time) after him, I have not sought life—*
11. *I have constantly traversed, like a stricken one* (?), *the fastness* (?) *of the desert.*
12. *Now, Sabitu, I see thy face—*
13. *Death, which I constantly fear, may I not see."*
14. *Sabitum to him said, even to Gilgameš:*

COLUMN III.

1. "*Gilgameš, why wanderest thou about?*
2. *The life which thou seekest wilt thou not find.*
3. *When the gods made mankind,*
4. *Death they set for mankind—*
5. *Life they kept in their hands.*
6. *Thou, Gilgameš, let thy belly be full;*
7. *Day and night thou sufferest, (even) thou—*
8. *Every day make festival,*
9. *Day and night rejoice and be glad.*
10. *Dazzling may thy clothing be,*

[11] This line seems to come in rather suddenly here, and, as Dr. Meissner remarks, there is no indication as to the name of the god. A different translation is nevertheless difficult to suggest.

[12] Probably = "lay fallen." A caterpillar would form a better simile than a worm in the ordinary sense. The word *tultu* indicates some special kind, and the prefixed ideograph of the Sumerian equivalent is the same as that used for the clothes' moth. Delitzsch compares the Heb. תּוֹלָע.

11. *May thy head be washed, water mayest thou pour forth.*[13]
12. *Look down upon the little one taking thy hand,*
13. *May the wife rejoice in thine embrace.*
14. *This is a thing* (?) . . . . . .
15. . . . . ."

COLUMN IV.

1. *Those he destroyed in his anger.*
2. *He came back, and stood by him—*
3. *Sur-Sunabu looks into his eyes.*
4. *Sur-Sunabu speaks to him, (even) to Gilgameš:*
5. " *Tell me, what is thy name?*
6. *I am Sur-Sunabu, of Uta-naištim the remote.*"
7. *Gilgameš speaks to him, (even) to Sur-Sunabu:*
8. " *Gilgameš by name am I,*
9. *Who have come from* ṣiba-ê-anni,[14]
10. *Which is opposite* (?) *the mountains,*
11. *A distant road of the rising of the sun.*
12. *Now, Sur-Sunabu, I see thy face;*
13. *Show me Uta-naištim, the remote.*"
14. *Sur-Sunabu (says) to him, (even) to Gilgameš:*
15. . . . . .

(The remaining two-thirds of the column are wanting.)

In order to understand the argument of the above fragment—how it was that the Sun-god Šamaš addressed Gilgameš, the cause of his grief for Êa-du whom he greatly loved, his conversation with Sabitu, and his meeting with Sur-Sunabu—it is needful to give an outline of the legend, which is not without its interest.

Gilgameš was one of the most celebrated heroes of Babylonia, and also, evidently, one of the most ancient of the kings of that region, the seat of his dominion being Erech, or, as it is called in

[13] It would probably not be going too far to say that this refers to some religious ceremony.

[14] Words of doubtful meaning. It is not impossible that *ê-anni* is for *ê-anna*, the temple of Ištar at Erech, and in this case *ṣiba* might mean "precinct," or something of the kind.

the inscriptions, *Uruk supuri*, literally, "Erech of the fold," probably so named because of some special enclosure which surrounded it. He was renowned for his wisdom and knowledge, no less than as the royal traveller who had undertaken a journey to find out the secret of life and death, which seems to have been the subject of the legend which gives these details. Naturally such adventures as he went through could not be those of a mere man, and the Babylonians therefore believed him to be two parts divine and one part human, as is stated in the legend first published by the late G. Smith. According to Jensen's completion of the first tablet of that series, he was created or formed by the goddess Aruru, the chief divinity of Ya'ruru, which seems to have lain near Sippar, and to have formed a twin city with it. As he was great and renowned, the goddess was requested to form another like him, and it was prophesied that the twain would compete with each other, apparently for the advantage of the city of Erech, in friendly rivalry. Forming in her heart a likeness of the god Anu (one of the deities of Erech), and washing her hands, she pinched off a piece of clay, which she threw down on the ground. The result was the creation of Êa-du, a warrior, one of "Ninib's host." His whole body was covered with hair, and the hair of his head was long, like that of a woman.[15] He lived, like a wild man, with the beasts of the field, eating herbs like the gazelles, until one day a young hunter saw him, and, suspecting him of divers pranks to his own disadvantage, went and told his father. The latter advised him to report the matter to Gilgameš, which he did, and measures were taken to entice this wild man to Erech. With the huntsman was sent a woman, who tempted Êa-du with her charms, and having brought him to her feet, thereafter the wild creatures with which he lived became afraid of him, and ran away. This being the case, he returned to his tempter, who flattered him, telling him how fair and like a god he was, and inviting him to come to Erech, the glorious city, where was the temple of Anu and Ištar, and the abode of Gilgameš, the great hero, rivalling even himself in wisdom and strength. Roused at the thought of meeting one with whom he was so evenly matched, Êa-du decided to go to

[15] In the legend first published Gilgameš calls Êa-du his "younger brother," probably because they were both of divine origin. His being described as a "hairy man" reminds one of Esau, and in the love which Gilgameš bore for him we have a Babylonian prototype of David and Jonathan. It cannot be said, however, that the Bible has plagiarized in either of these cases.

Erech, there to meet the great hero of the place. In the meanwhile the Erechite ruler has two dreams, which he relates to Rêmut-Bêlti, his mother, who interprets them as referring to Êa-du, who is to be his friend and future helper, and when he goes to meet the latter, he resolves to tell him of these visions which referred to him.

The fragmentary state of the text in the passages which follow make the narrative very uncertain just here, and the next event of which the narrative treats seems to be the expedition Gilgameš and Êa-du made with the object of killing the Elamite tyrant Ḫumbaba, a mighty warrior, greatly to be dreaded, who lived in the midst of a forest of cedars. So dangerous, in fact, was the undertaking, that the mother of Gilgameš, to all appearance, counselled against it. Notwithstanding this, however, all seems to have ended happily, and, after many adventures, the tyrant was ultimately deprived of his head. In consequence of this and other successes, Gilgameš would seem to have celebrated a kind of triumph on returning to Erech; and when Ištar, the goddess of the city, saw him in his royal clothing, with his tiara on his head, she wished to espouse him. This, however, was not to the taste of the hero, who, notwithstanding that she was, with Anu her father, the chief goddess of the city, immediately began to reproach her with her treatment of Tammuz, the husband of her youth, and her numerous other favourites, all of whom had reason to rue their ill-luck in attracting the attention of the goddess of love. The sequel has been frequently related. Angered, the goddess mounted up to heaven, and asked the help of her father Anu and her mother Anatu, the result being that a winged bull was assigned to her as her champion. Even against this divine animal, however, were the two friends successful, and after they had killed him, Êa-du cut off a portion of his body, and threw it at the goddess in scorn, threatening, if he got hold of her, to make her like her dead champion. Ištar and her devotees then made lamentation over the portion of the bull which had been cut off, whilst Gilgameš called the cunning workmen of his city to look at the enormous and beautiful horns of the divine animal which he and his friend had killed. These objects were of lapis-lazuli, and the two together held six *gur* of oil, which amount the hero gave to his god Lugal-banda for ceremonial purposes, retaining the horns themselves as trophies. His people again acclaimed him as a hero, after which he held joyful festival in his palace.

Of their further adventures the tablets have preserved only

fragmentary remains, and where the text again becomes fairly comprehensible, Êa-du has fallen into a trance, from which he does not awaken, and to all appearance this trance is in reality death. On realizing this, Gilgameš seems to have set out to find some means of getting his friend restored to him, and in his quest he travels far and wide. From the remains of the text as restored by Jensen, we see that he meets with various people, who all notice his care-worn and weather-beaten appearance; and if the completions be correct, as seems certain, they all speak of it in the same words, more or less. Whenever asked, he answers that it is on account of his friend, the panther of the plain, his "younger brother," with whom he had ascended mountains, had seized and slain the divine bull, had smitten Ḫumbaba dwelling in the cedar-wood,—the friend with whom he had killed lions, and performed other deeds. His fate had come upon him, and on that account Gilgameš had bewailed him six days and (seven) nights, when the fear of death came upon him, and he fled, running over the plains along a distant road, and the thought came over him: "Shall I not (also) lay me down like him, and not rise up again to all eternity?" [16]

The death of his friend had to all appearance awakened in his heart that question which has disturbed so many, and upon which diverse opinions prevail even now, and will do, perhaps, as long as there are men on the earth. The thought which at last took form in his mind seems to have been, that he would continue his journey until he reached the presence of Ut-napištim, the son of Ubara-Tutu,[17] and during the dangers of the road he would pray to the moon-god Sin, and to the goddess Ištar, whom he had at one time so mercilessly reproached, rousing her hostility and anger. After a dream, which probably foretold success, he seems to have set out on his wanderings again, and reached mount Mâšu, where he sees the scorpion-men, the very sight of whom was death to the ordinary mortal. As, however, he was two parts god and the third part man, their aspect did not mean death for him, as the monsters themselves recognised. He asks them about Ut-napištim, his father, who had attained life in the assembly of the gods, and in reply they tell him of the road he has to traverse, where darkness exists, and there is

[16] *Anaku ul kî šašu-mâ anellamma: û lâ atebbâ dûr dâr*, as restored by Jensen, from a comparison of the passages where the phrase occurs.

[17] Also written Umbara-Tutu.

no light, either (so the description seems to say) at sunrise, or at sunset. After the interview, he set out on his travels again, and traversed (as it would seem) the path of the sun, 12 *kas-gid*, according to the old calculation, about 84 miles. Here at last he found brightness, and a wonderful garden, full of the trees of the gods, which he rushed forward to see. One of them seems to have been called "chalcedony" (grey or blue grey stone), and bore clusters which were good to the sight, whilst another was apparently called "lapis" (*uknû*), and bore the *ḫasḫaltu*, a fruit which was attractive (?) to the sight. The remainder of the description is fragmentary, but there seems to have been a fairly long description of other wonderful things of a similar nature.

(*To be continued.*)

THE TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF BOD-'AŠTART, KING OF THE SIDONIANS.

By E. J. Pilcher.

The newly discovered text of Bod-Ashtart is a noteworthy addition to Phœnician epigraphy; and as there are still considerable differences of opinion as to its proper reading and interpretation, a few remarks thereon may not be out of place in the *Proceedings*.

The text in question was discovered upon a small steep hill, situated about two kilometres from the modern town of Saida, and in the vicinity of the ancient cemeteries where were found the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar II in 1855, and that of king Tabnith in 1887. The surface of this hill is strewn from top to bottom with blocks of hewn stone, many of which have been used to support the narrow terraces into which the slope has been divided for purposes of cultivation. Half way up—about fifty metres above the level of the Mediterranean—there appeared to be the remains of ancient walls. Early in the year 1900, the proprietor, the Druse sheikh Nassib-bey Jemblat, employed four workmen to remove some of the blocks from these walls for building purposes. While thus occupied, the workmen noticed that there were letters cut upon some of the blocks they were handling, the hollows of these letters having been painted red. A neighbouring dealer in antiquities being informed of the find, clandestinely purchased two or three of the inscriptions from the men; and, as the blocks were far too heavy to be readily transported, he induced them to cut off slabs some fifteen or twenty centimetres thick, and remove them to the adjacent village of Halalieh. Meanwhile, however, the matter came to the ears of the authorities, and the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople commissioned Th. Macridy-Bey to explore the site. The excavations conducted by Macridy-Bey revealed the fact that the ruins consisted of a rectangular platform, carefully oriented to the four

cardinal points, measuring about sixty metres from east to west, and forty-four metres from north to south. The retaining wall of this platform was composed of blocks of hewn limestone, each one about a metre cube. The excavator was rewarded by the discovery of fresh copies of the Bod-Ashtart inscription, making a total of *seven* examples, and also some other fragmentary texts, proving that the building had been a temple dedicated to the god Eshmun, the Phœnician Æsculapius. Further explorations resulted in the disinterment of a number of fragments of statues, etc., in terra-cotta, limestone, and Grecian marble. The terra-cottas and the limestone objects were of the well-known Cypriote type, but of far superior execution, while the marbles were obviously Greek in style and execution.[1] The discovery of these objects of the Greek period is, of course, of great importance, as tending to prove the accuracy of M. Clermont-Ganneau's ascription of the Eshmunazar dynasty (to which Bod-Ashtart belonged) to the Ptolemaic age.

It was surprising to find in the ruins no less than seven identical copies of the royal inscription; but the *position* of these inscriptions was still more remarkable. In no case did they face outwards; that is to say, they could never have been seen in the original external face of the platform wall: in every case the portion of the stone which bore the lettering was turned inwards, so as to come in the vertical joint of the masonry; and they do not appear to have been ranged in any order, but to have been distributed haphazard throughout the walls. As M. Berger remarks, the primary object of an inscription is to have it read, and it is most extraordinary that the builders should have taken the trouble to engrave these letters, and distinguish them with red paint, and then to turn them into the walls, where they could never by any chance have been perceived until the building was totally demolished. The Babylonians, it is true, were in the habit of depositing records in the foundations of their edifices; but if Bod-Ashtart wished to notify posterity in a similar manner, it would seem an unnecessary refinement to fill in the lettering with red paint. M. Durighello has suggested that the present platform wall was a work of the Roman period, in which the constructors used up some more ancient material. But Macridy-Bey points out that the blocks are composed of the local limestone, which

[1] "Le Temple d'Echmoun à Sidon," par Th. Macridy-Bey. *Revue Biblique Internationale*, p. 69. Jan., 1903.

is very soft, and would not have borne any such re-handling. Moreover the joints in the masonry have been carefully fitted together, and are so close that the blade of a knife cannot be inserted between them, and he has, therefore, no doubt that they occupy their original position. The freshness of the red paint also proves that the stones have never been interfered with since they were originally laid. The only alternative suggestion, therefore, would be that—like Solomon's temple—the platform of Eshmun "was built of stone made ready at the quarry; and there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was building." But, before the courses of hewn stone were actually laid, some revolution or change of dynasty occurred, which made it injudicious for the architect to exhibit the name of Bod-Ashtart; and, consequently, the inscribed blocks were quietly turned inwards and concealed from view.

Notwithstanding the fact that seven examples of the inscription have been unearthed, the various gentlemen who have worked at its decipherment have not been unanimous in their transcription of it. This has been due to three causes. In the first place, the local dealers followed the detestable Oriental practice of breaking the slabs into two or three pieces, with the object of driving a separate bargain for each fragment. This, of course, caused the mutilation and loss of some of the characters. In the second place, hand copies and tracings of the inscriptions were made by persons who had no acquaintance with the Phœnician alphabet, and who, consequently, committed serious errors in the copies they distributed. Lastly, a local dealer in antiquities has confessed to fabricating two counterfeit slabs, with lettering imitated from the originals. From all these circumstances, therefore, it is evident that reported variations in the readings must be regarded with the gravest suspicion.

The following transcription into Square Hebrew characters has been made from the excellent heliogravure published by M. Philippe Berger,[2] compared with the photograph prepared by Prof. Torrey, of Yale University.[3] Two of the inscriptions first discovered were secured for the Louvre at Paris, where they are now exhibited. One of these is practically complete, and formed the basis of M. Berger's

[2] "Mémoire sur les Inscriptions de Fondation du Temple d'Esmoun à Sidon," par M Philippe Berger. Paris, 1902.

[3] "A Phœnician Royal Inscription," by Charles C. Torrey. *Journal of the American Oriental Society.* Vol. XXIII, p. 156. New Haven (Conn.), 1902.

rendering. The other seems never to have been finished. Prof. Torrey happened to be in Palestine in the autumn of 1900, and there learned of the discovery. After prolonged negotiations, he acquired one of the inscriptions, which is now at New Haven (Conn.), U.S.A. The American specimen appears to have been executed by a different workman to the engraver of the Berger slab, as the fashion of the letters varies slightly in the two examples. Misled by a crack in the stone, M. Berger read the sixty-eighth letter as *Mem.* The palæographical acuteness of M. Clermont-Ganneau, however, perceived it to be *Vau*, and the reproduction of Prof. Torrey plainly shows it to be *Vau*, although the latter savant, curiously, reads it as *Kaph*, which is not unlike ו in this alphabet.

The standard text consists of ninety-six characters. The arrangement of the lines varies in the different examples, but it may be divided as follows :—

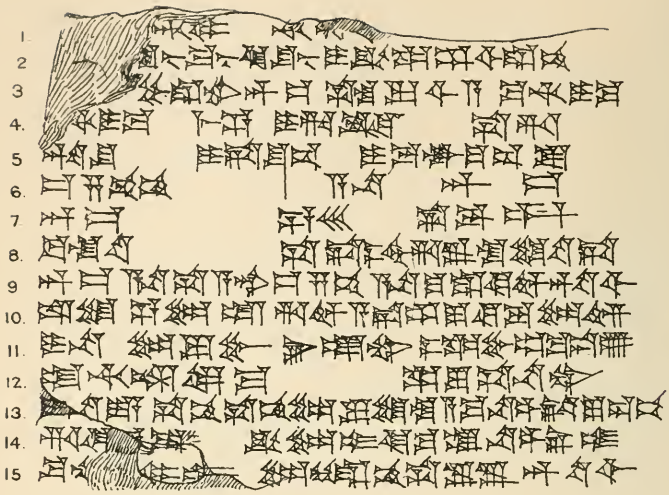
1. מלך בדעשתרת מלך צדנם בן
2. בן מלך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם
3. בצדן ים שמם רמם ארץ רשפם
4. צדן משל אשבן וצדן שד
5. אית הבת ז בן לאלי לאשמן שר קדש

which may be rendered :—

1. King Bod-Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, son of
2. the son of king Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians
3. in Sidon-of-the-Sea Exalted-heavens Land-of-Reshephs,
4. Sidon-moshel-Eshbon, and Sidon-sadeh,
5. this temple has built to his god Eshmun, Prince of the Sanctuary.

There is no difference of opinion regarding the meaning of lines 1, 2 and 5; but lines 3 and 4 have puzzled all the decipherers. It would be very tempting to read these as a royal proclamation or dedication; but the difficulty is that they will not construe, and the only explanation of them which appears justifiable is that of M. Clermont-Ganneau,[4] who regards them as a list of localities in the Sidonian territory. The learned orientalist, however, reads six

[4] "Les Inscriptions Phéniciennes du Temple d'Echmoun à Sidon." *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, par Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, p. 217. Octobre, 1902.



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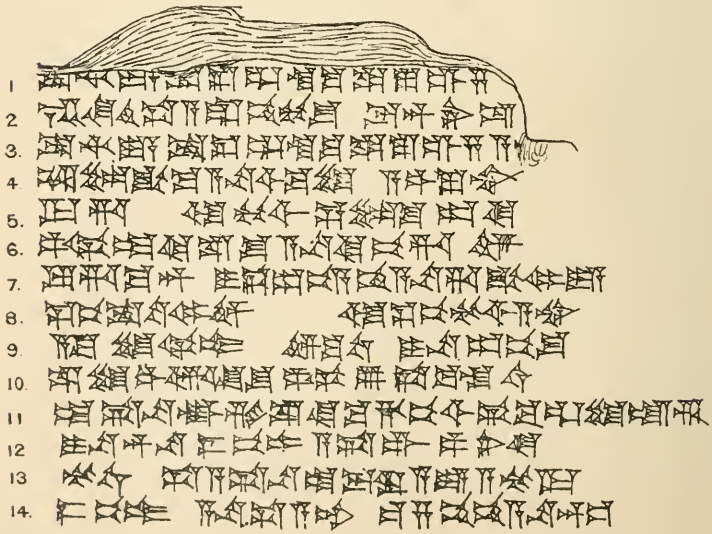
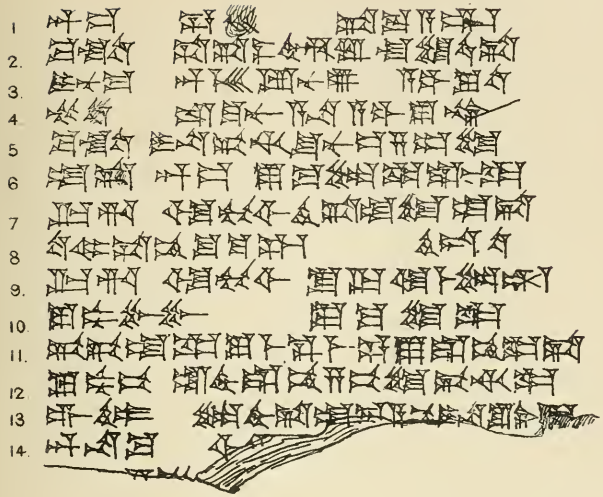


Column II.



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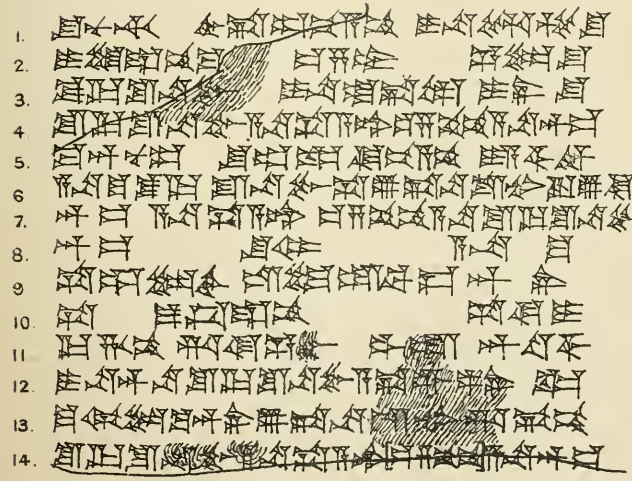

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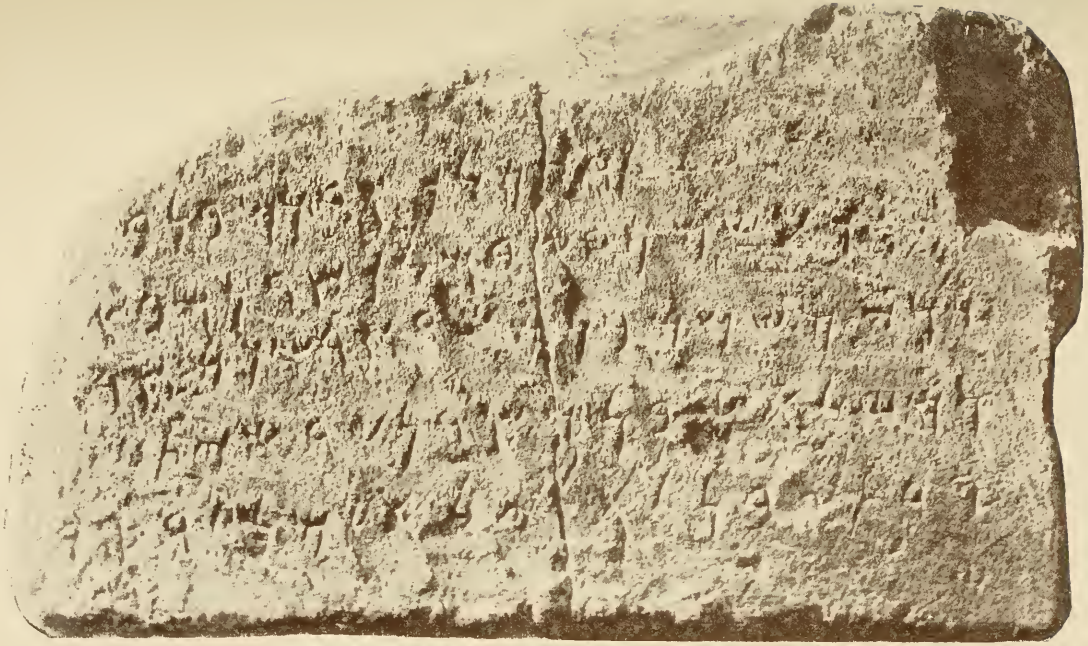


THE TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF BOD-'AŠTART.

From Mon. P. Berger's "Memoire sur les inscription de fondation du Temple d'Esmoun à Sidon."

localities, whereas it may be permissible to reduce them to three. It will be observed that the word "Sidon" is repeated three times. If the two lines gave a list of the Sidonian possessions, we should have expected the Sidons to have been mentioned first, and then followed by the other places. But the inscription distributes the "Sidons" among the other words. The inference, therefore, would seem to be that in each case we have to deal with a "Sidon" which is defined by the words which follow. Thus we would have:—

1. *Ṣidôn yam šamaim ramim 'ereṣ rešaphim*
2. *Ṣidôn mošel 'Ešbon*
3. *Ṣidôn sadeh.*

1. It seems impossible to resist the conclusion that *šamaim ramim* and *'ereṣ rešaphim* are epithets of the town of Sidon. *Ṣidon yam* may be at once equated with the *Ṣidon 'ereṣ yam* of lines 16 and 18 of the Eshmunazar inscription. שמם רמם does not occur in Eshmunazar, but in lines 16 and 17 he mentions שמם אדרם in the following connection:—"We have built the temples of the gods [the temple of Astarte] in Sidon, land of the sea, and have set up Astarte *šamaim 'adirim;* and we who have built the temple to Eshmun, [Prince of the Sanctuary] of *'Ain Yidlal* in the Mountain, and we have made him inhabit *šamaim 'adirim.*" The first use of the phrase offers little difficulty, and reminds us of the fact that the classical rendering of *Aštarte šamaim 'adirim* of Sidon was Venus-Urania. But, in the second instance, the connection is not obvious. Eshmunazar can hardly have meant that he installed Eshmun in "magnificent heavens," unless that phrase denoted some part of a temple. In Ezra x, 2, ישב means "to marry," so that it is possible that a union between Eshmun and [Astarte] *šamaim 'adirim*, is expressed. The editors of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, following Schlottmann, have divided the two words as שם מאדרם, and read, "we have made him inhabit 'there with thanksgiving.'" In the case of the Bod-Ashtart text, however, while the word-division

בצדן שם מרמם ארצרשף =

"in Sidon there with praise to Eres-Resheph," is possible, and may be defended by comparison with Ps. cxlix, 6, "Let the high praises of God be in their mouth;" yet the preposition שם appears decidedly out of place. With regard to *'Eres reshaphim*, it is not

absolutely certain that a locality is meant. Lines 2 and 11 of the Hadad inscription of Zenjerli give a list of the gods of Ya'di, in which the Resheph of line 2 is replaced by Arq-Resheph in line 11. As, by the law of phonetic interchange, a Zenjerli ק corresponds to a Hebrew צ,[5] and as ארק in these inscriptions undoubtedly means "land," it follows that the ארקרשף of Zenjerli would be ארצרשף in Phœnician, and thus the Eres-Resheph of Bod-Ashtart would be a synonym of Resheph. ארצו was a Palmyrene deity, and Eres-Resheph may have been a fusion of two personages originally, though at the time of the Zenjerli texts they were considered a unity.

2. *Ṣidôn-mošel-'Ešbon*, or, Sidon the dominator of Eshbon, is difficult to explain without a knowledge of the minuter geography of the Sidonian territory. The Moabite Heshbon (Jer. xlviii, 2) is, of course, out of the question. אשבן occurs as a proper name in Genesis xxxvi, 26.

3. *Ṣidôn sadeh*, or, "Sidon of the field," compared with Neh. xii, 29, is explicable as the country part of the Sidonian territory.

In the Assyrian period there were Greater Sidon and Lesser Sidon. If, therefore, we add the Canton of Sidon, we shall have the three localities of Bod-Ashtart. M. Clermont-Ganneau very shrewdly points out that seaport towns tend to divide into two parts, the one section being on the shore, and the other inland. We need hardly be surprised at the mythological titles applied to Sidon-of-the-Sea, for it was regarded by its inhabitants as a Holy City—witness its autonomous coins, which, from 121 B.C. onward, bear the legend ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ.

The only other point of note in the inscription of Bod-Ashtart is the title applied to Eshmun, viz., *Sar Qodeš*, or "prince of the sanctuary." In the Eshmunazar text, line 17 is damaged, but אשמן . . קדש can be easily made out. In view of our new inscription, it is unquestionable that the missing characters are שר, so that we have to deal with the same deity, "Eshmun, Prince of the Sanctuary." It is interesting to observe in this connection that one of the classes of priests at Jerusalem was also called "Princes of the Sanctuary" (1 Chron. xxiv, 5), which must therefore be a sacerdotal title, and that the Moabites also had "princes," as well as priests,

[5] "Die altsemitischen Inschriften von Sendschirli," von Dr. Dav. Heinr. Müller, p. 41. Vienna, 1893.

in the worship of Chemosh (Isaiah xlviii, 7). Consequently it is possible that the "princes" of Hosea iii, 4, may be likewise "Princes of the Sanctuary," and not members of the royal family.

Bod-Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, is not entirely an unknown personage, for C.I.S. I, 4 reads:—

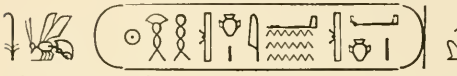
"In the month מפע, in the year of the reign of king Bod-Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, dedicated Bod-Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, this plain of land to his god Ashtart."

This, however, gave no indication of the position of the king in Sidonian history, and the new text completes our knowledge by informing us that he was "son of the son of king Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians." Exactly the same phraseology as that employed by Eshmunazar II in his line 14. It would thus appear that Eshmunazar II and Bod-Ashtart were grandsons of Eshmunazar I, and that they succeeded one another on the throne of Sidon. Whether these two monarchs were brothers or cousins does not appear, but MM. Berger and Clermont-Ganneau incline to the idea that they were cousins. The Eshmunazar dynasty may have been the last line of the kings of Sidon. That the Sidonians were ruled by kings to a very late period appears to be demonstrated by numismatic evidence; for even in the reign of the Seleucid Demetrius Soter (162–150 B.C.), the small brass autonomous coins of Sidon bore the legend "of Demetrius, king of the Sidonians," showing that the Greek rulers found it politic to flatter the local feeling by posing as kings of Sidon, not to mention the value of such a title in discounting the pretensions of native claimants to the throne.

EXTRACTS FROM MY NOTEBOOKS.

VI.

By Percy E. Newberry.

41. A STELÂ DATED IN THE REIGN OF AB-AA.—In the Turin Papyrus of Royal names, there is mentioned a king  , "Uah-ab-ra Ab-aa," who is stated to have reigned "ten years, eight months and twenty-eight days": he belongs to the Sebekhetep group, and is placed between Kha-hetep-ra and Mer-nefer-ra. Of monuments dating from his reign, four only are at present known; these are: (1) A cylinder-seal in the Grant Collection at Liverpool, giving his prenomen, and naming him as "beloved of Sebek, Lord of Sunu"; (2) a scarab of the characteristic "Sebekhetep" type in the Petrie Collection; (3) a fragment of a blue glazed faïence vase, found by Prof. Petrie at Kahun;[1] and (4) a stele that was discovered by native diggers near Thebes in 1900, and is now preserved in the British Museum (No. 1348). Unfortunately, these monuments supply us with no details concerning the parentage or life of Ab-aa, but it seems not improbable that we should identify him with the "General," Ab-aa, whose name continually appears among the Court Officials mentioned in the Great Account Papyrus of Bulac.[2] This document certainly dates from the reign of one of the later Sebek-hetep kings, and it is possible that the General Ab-aa married one of the numerous princesses named in the papyrus, and so obtained some sort of claim to the throne of Egypt.[3]

[1] Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, Pl. X, 72.

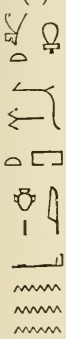
[2] Mariette, *Bulac Papyri*, Tome II, Pl. XVI, 1, 4, etc.

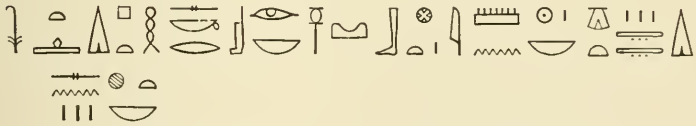
[3] Since writing the above, I have noticed in the Museo Civico at Bologna, a small statuette of the XIIIth dynasty date, bearing the name of a Vezîr Ab-aa. The inscription on this statuette is as yet unpublished.

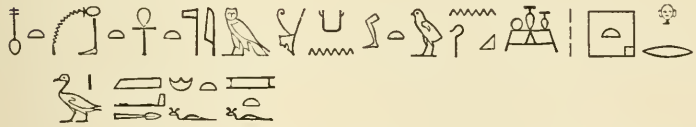
The stela in the British Museum dated in King Ab-aa's reign has been described by Dr. Budge in his recent *History of Egypt* (Vol. III, pp. 104–105), but so briefly that I am glad to be able to avail myself of his permission to give a copy of the text upon it, which I made at Thebes in the winter of 1900, when it was still in a Luxor dealer's hands. The inscription, it will be seen, asks for offerings for: (1) an "*uartu* of the Ruler's Table," named Sa-hather; (2) various members of his family, both living and deceased; and (3) several of Sa-hather's friends. The text runs:—

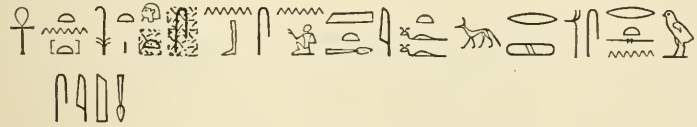
(*a*) Disc. (*b*)

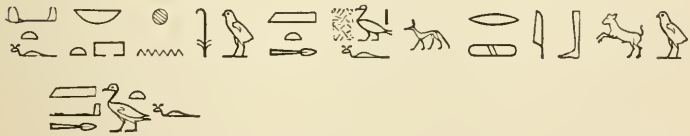
Sacred eye. Sacred eye.

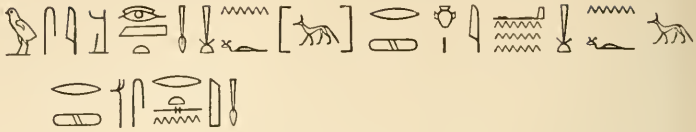


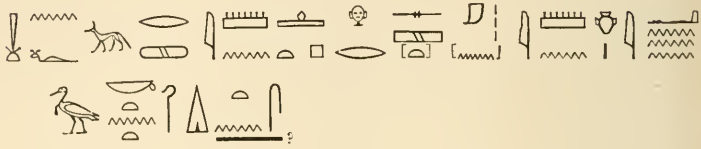
1. 

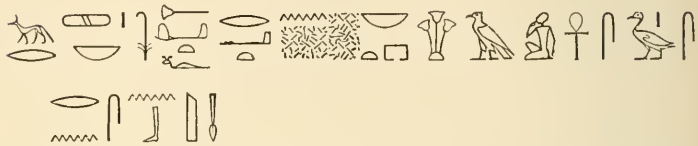
2. 

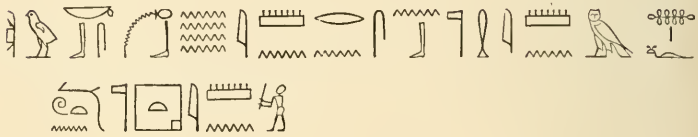
3. 

4. 

5. 

6. 

7. 

8. 

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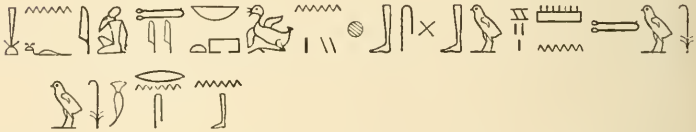
10. 

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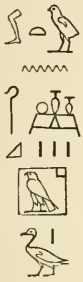
15. 

16.

THE FAMILY OF SA-HATHER. (*Names in italics are females.*)

The *sab* and *ärï Nekhen*, Usertsen-usa = *Khensu*

The *uartu* of the Ruler's Table, Sa-hather = The *ankhet* of Upper Egypt, *Senb-sen*

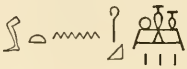
Ab-aa — Usertsen — Amenhetep

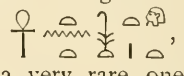
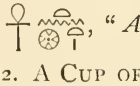
The *sab* and *ärï Nekhen*, Abu — *Usa-res*

FRIENDS OF SA-HATHER:—

(1) Overseer of the Secrets of Amen, Ab-aa.
(2) The Slave of the Ruler, Det-nes.
(3) The *sab* and *ärï Nekhen*, Neb-sunu.
(4) — His mother Erdet-ne . . . . .
(5) — [His wife?] the Lady Ha-ankh-es.
(6) — Her son, Ren-senb.
(7) The Attendant, Kebs.
(8) The *uab*-priest of Amen, Ren-senb.
(9) The priest, Amen-em-sa-ef.
(10) The *mer shent* of the Temple, Amen-nekht.
(11) The Great one of the Southern Tens, Dede-Amen.
(12) — The son of his daughter, the Great one of the Southern Tens, Dede-Amen.
(13) The Steward of the Granary, Beba.
(14) — His brother, Athŷ.

(15) The Lady, Zanï-khebs-bu (?).
(16) ,, Mentu-nesu.
(17) The Royal *bener* (?), Rensenb.
(18) The Overseer of the secrets of Amen . S . . . ankh-ef.
(19) The *sab* and *ärï Nekhen*, Amenhetep.
(20) The Lady, Neferu.
(21) The *uab*-priest of Amen, Ab-aa.
(22) The Lady, Senb-tesï.
(23) The Lady, Mesŷ . . . .
(24) . . . . Nub-em-meh-ab.
(25) The Steward of the Granary, Sa-hather.

The title of Sa-hather,  "*uartu* of the Ruler's Table," is a common one from the end of the Twelfth Dynasty onwards to the beginning of the Eighteenth. An *uartu*, as I have shown elsewhere,[4] was some kind of military officer. The word *uar* means "to run swiftly," "to flee;" so the *uartu* may perhaps have been an officer whose duty it was to carry the King's or General's orders, a kind of "special messenger," "despatch rider," or even an "aide-de-camp;" the *uartu ne heq khaut* would therefore appear to have been the special messenger in attendance upon the Ruler, who, in the troublous times of the Hyksos period, was ready at a moment's notice to carry important military orders to any part of the land that his Ruler might direct him to go to.

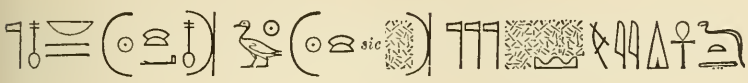
The title of Sa-hather's wife,  , "*Ankhet* of the *Res-tep*" (*i.e.*, Upper Egypt), is a very rare one, and I cannot explain its meaning: it may be compared with the well-known title,  , "*Ankhet* of the City."[5]

42. A CUP OF SEBEKHETEP III.—In a previous note (No. 24*a*), printed in the *Proceedings* of May, 1901, I described a blue glazed faïence ring-stand for a vase, bearing the cartouches of Sebekhetep III, which was then in the Dattari Collection in Cairo. At the same time I mentioned that there was a somewhat similar object in the Myer's Collection at Eton College. This object is not, however, a ring-stand, but a blue glazed faïence drinking-cup

[4] In Garstang's *El Arabeh*, p. 33.

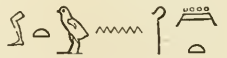
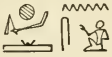
[5] *Cf.* my *El Bersheh*, I, p. 8, note 3, where it clearly has an honourable meaning.

$3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and 4 inches in diameter across the mouth; around its circumference it bears the following inscription written in black ink under the glaze:—

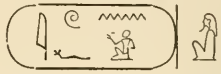


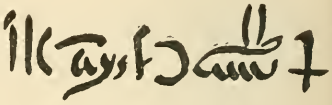
A blue glazed faïence ring-stand of about the same period as this cup is in Mr. MacGregor's Collection at Tamworth: it is inscribed with the *de hetep seten* formula to Sebek, Lord of Semenu, and was made for a man [no titles given] named Nuseneb.[6] Two other and similar ring-stands are also known: one bearing the name of the , "Scribe in charge of the Seal, Aua," is in the Dattari Collection; and the other with the name of the , "Guardian of the bows (??), Sa-aah," is in the British Museum (35,414).

43. KING AMENEMHAT-SEBEKHETEP.—In a note, No. 34, in these *Proceedings* (Vol. XXIV, p. 250), I called attention to a new Thirteenth Dynasty king, Amenemhat-sebekhetep, whose name occurs on a small steatite cylinder-seal belonging to Mr. Theodore M. Davis. Through the kindness of Mr. Towry Whyte, *F.S.A.*, I am now able to give a drawing of another monument of this new king (*see* Plate, fig. 1). It is a fragment of limestone with the king's cartouche cut upon it that has evidently been cut out of some historical inscription (presumably an inscription in a tomb). Mr. Towry Whyte tells me that it was sold at Messrs. Sothebys' on the 29th June, 1894 (Lot 51), but he has no idea as to its present whereabouts. Could any member of this Society inform me in whose hands it now is?

44. AN EARLY THIRTEENTH DYNASTY STELA.—In the Rev. C. J. Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 77, is given a photographic reproduction of a stela of an  "*uartu* of the Ruler's Table,"[7] named  Khu-nes, with the usual *de hetep seten* formula to Ptah-Seker-Osiris, Lord of Dedu. Khu-nes, it is

[6] See H. Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art*, Pl. I, fig. 2.
[7] See above, p. 133.

stated on the monument, was the son of a , "Royal Son, Au-nef," whose name as a prince is not otherwise recorded. In the Turin "List of Kings," however, we meet with a name that has been read  Auf-na, or Auf-ni, but which might equally well be transcribed Au-nef, as will be seen from the arrangement of the hieratic signs. Now this king is the fifth of the line which immediately succeeded the Twelfth Dynasty, and he preceded the Ameny-antef-Amenemhat whose beautiful table of offerings is in the Cairo Museum. The style of Mr. Ball's stela is undoubtedly early Thirteenth Dynasty in date; it therefore appears probable that we should identify the *Prince* Au-nef mentioned on it with the *King* Au-nef of the Turin list, of whom not a single other monument has yet been found. I may here correct a slight inaccuracy in Mr. Ball's interesting book. He states (*op. cit.*, p. 76) that the stela had been "found" by me; this is not so, for at the time I acquired it I had not done any excavating in Egypt beyond clearing the painted chambers of tombs. The stela was in reality bought by me from a Luxor dealer, who stated that it had been found near Mohalla, opposite Gebelên.



45. A MONUMENT OF KHA-ANKH-RA SEBEKHETEP.—Monuments bearing the name of King Kha-ankh-ra Sebekhetep are very rare: all that were hitherto known being, (1) a fine altar in the Leyden Museum;[8] (2) four blocks of stone from a temple or other building;[9] and (3) a scarab bearing the prenomen of this king combined with that of his predecessor, Kha-nefer-ra.[10] To these may now be added a piece of black granite, 6½ inches wide by 5 inches high, from the pedestal of a statuette, which was acquired at Thebes

[8] *Leyd. Mon.*, I, Pl. XXXVII.

[9] In the Louvre.

[10] In the Ashmolean Museum. The scarab figured in Petrie's *History*, I, p. 218, fig. 129, from the Grant Collection, is very late, and cannot well be attributed to this king.

in 1898, and is now in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney (*see* Plate, fig. 3).

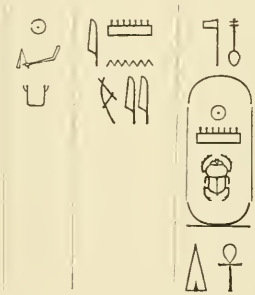
46. SOME SMALL INSCRIBED OBJECTS :—

(*a*) An oval steatite bead of Usertsen I, inscribed :— , is in the Grant Collection at Liverpool.

(*b*) A round steatite bead, coated with green glaze, of Amenemhat, inscribed :— , is in the Murch Collection at Luxor.

(*c*) A round paste bead, coated with green glaze, of the Divine Wife, Hatshepset, inscribed :— , is in the Murch Collection at Luxor.

(*d*) A small green glazed steatite cylindrical-shaped bead bearing the prenomens of Amenhetep I and Thothmes III. (Murch Collection) :

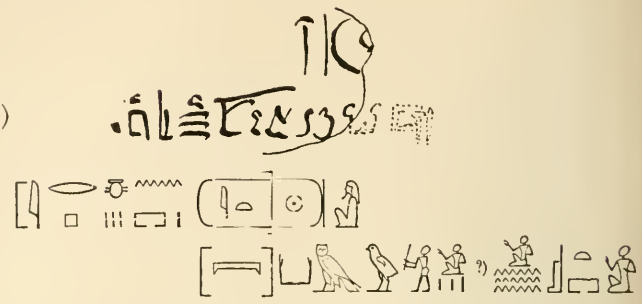


(*e*) A lid of a small wooden box with a vertical line of hieroglyphs running down the centre, and reading :—" Made by the stone-borer of the Vezir, the favoured of his lord, Neb-amen " (*see* Plate, fig. 2). A coloured drawing of this lid, made at Rome in 1824, is among the Dodswell Manuscripts in the British Museum (*Add. MS.*, 33,958, f. 50, 3).

47. WINE JAR INSCRIPTIONS FROM TELL EL AMARNA.—The two ostraca figured here were bought last winter at Tell el Amarna by my friend Dr. Granville, of Cairo, and they are interesting as giving the names of two "Overseers of the Vintners of the temple of

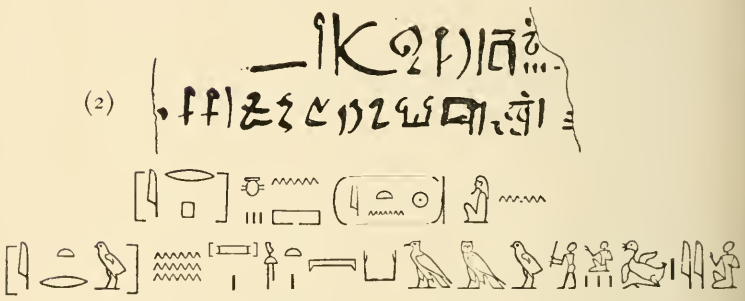
the Aten" at Tell el Amarna in the time of Akhenaten. Their inscriptions read :—

(1)



"[wine of the temple of the At]en
"[the Overseer] of the Vintners . . . .

(2)

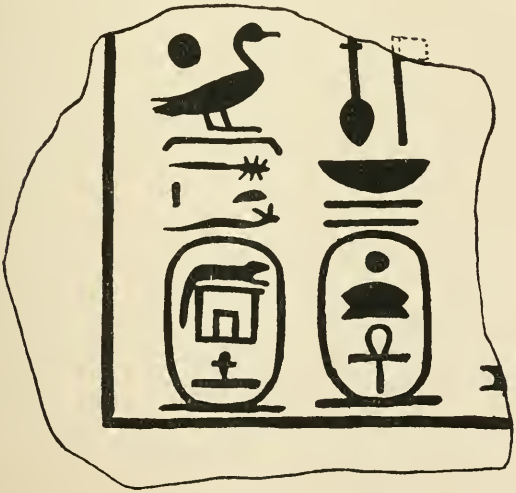


"[wine] of the temple of the Aten, of the western river";
"the Overseer of the Vintners, Zaŷ."

The name of Zaŷ occurs also on a fragment of a jar inscription figured by Prof. Petrie in his *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. XXV, 97, but the man's titles have been destroyed.

1.

2.



3.

THE GREEK VERSIONS OF CHRONICLES, EZRA, AND NEHEMIAH.

[Extract from a letter of PROF. C. C. TORREY, addressed to SIR HENRY HOWORTH.]

Your main conclusions are, I think, the only tenable ones, and I am delighted to see the whole matter at last set forth in such a satisfactory manner.

When I began lecturing on "Introduction to the Old Testament Apocrypha," nine years ago, I became very much interested in "Esdras I," and was surprised to find that all our modern authorities were in an Egyptian darkness in regard to the book. Evidently no one had taken the trouble to study it, for no competent scholar *could* study it without seeing the impossibility of the current statements about it. Since 1894 I have taught all my classes, year after year, that "Esdras I" is simply a fragment of the old Greek version of Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah; presenting exactly the arguments which you state so admirably in your third article. In fact I have had all this written out in full, and ready for publication for years past. Whiston's argument, which you cite, was familiar to me, and I made use of it in my lectures, referring to his theory that our canonical Greek Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah is the Theodotion version, as in every way probable. I never attempted to prove it in detail, though this could undoubtedly be done, and I had expected to undertake it ultimately. The theory does not belong to Whiston, however, and he should not be given any especial credit for it—or at least not for more than a part of it. Grotius, in his annotations to the Old Testament (1644) says, in a note on 2 Chronicles xxxv, 6, that our Greek version of Chronicles *is that of Theodotion*, while the two chapters of 2 Chronicles xxxv and xxxvi, with which Esdras I begins, are *from the Septuagint* ("ex LXX"). "Theodotionis autem interpretationem in Paralipomenis et aliis quibusdam libris recepit Græca Ecclesia." He expresses himself cautiously in this passage, not explicitly including the whole of Esdras I, for the very obvious reason that the argument which he happens to be using here, the

translation of פסח, would be a conspicuous failure in Ezra vi, 19 *ff.* (= Esdras I, vii, 10 *ff.*). "Theodotion," he has just observed, very acutely, "semper vertit *φασὲκ*, non ut alii interpretes *πάσχα*." The value of this observation is apparent, when we notice that the form *φασὲκ* (or *φασὲχ*) occurs eighteen times in the books of Chronicles, but nowhere else in our standard Greek Old Testament. In the one passage in Ezra—Nehemiah, where the Passover is mentioned, viz., chapter vi, 19 *ff.*, it is of course easy to suppose the more common *πάσχά* was substituted at an early date.

As regards the original language of Esdras I, 3 *f.* (the Story of the Young Men). It was Semitic; this is placed quite beyond question by v, 1–6, the original language of which was Hebrew, as any reader who knows both Greek and Hebrew can see, and as most scholars have seen. The question whether the language of the story was Hebrew or Aramaic is then answered, principally by the word *τότε*, iii, 4, 8; iv, 33, 41, 42, 43, 47. If you will look all through the Greek Old Testament for passages in which *τότε*, "then," "thereupon," is consistently used to continue a narrative, you will find such examples *only* in the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, and in this Story of the Young Men. The usage is neither Greek nor Hebrew; the *τότε* can only stand for the Aramaic אדין. It is not a question of one or two occurrences (such as can be found, now and then, in all Greek literature). Notice how the word appears again and again on every one of these pages derived from the Aramaic—but on no other pages.

I thought you might be interested in the extract, "The missing conclusion of Ezra II," which I sent you. The "Joachim" who so suddenly and unexpectedly ousts Zerubbabel from his leadership in Esdras I, v, 6, owes his existence to a very commonplace scribal blunder. The Hebrew text read: וַיָּקָם בּוֹ זרבבל, "And *there rose up with him* Zerubbabel." A slight accidental lengthening of the ו in בו, making it בן, "son," did all the mischief.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

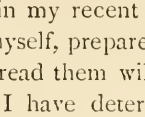
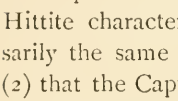
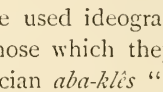
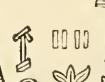
By PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*, *etc.*

More than twenty years ago, in 1881, when bringing the "boss of Tarkondêmos" before the notice of the learned world,[1] I expressed a hope that I had found what would prove to be "the Rosetta Stone of Hittite decipherment." That hope was not fulfilled; the bilingual text was too short and the other Hittite inscriptions too few and imperfect to allow of it, while the Hittite system of writing turns out to have been more complicated than I had anticipated. The clue which the name of the king Tarkondêmos seemed to give proved to be illusory, and other clues which presented themselves from time to time were equally barren of results. Attempts at the decipherment of the inscriptions were indeed made, but they satisfied only their authors, and none of them has been accepted. For years I have had to preach the doctrine that we must be contented with graphic decipherment alone, classifying the hieroglyphs, identifying or distinguishing their various forms, and determining the objects which they were intended to represent. Of a decipherment of the inscriptions in the true sense of the word I had given up all hope, unless fortune brought us a bilingual text of some length.

And yet I believe that the unexpected has really happened, and that light is at last dawning on the meaning and transliteration of the Hittite texts. At the outset I have to acknowledge that the credit of first recognizing the direction which the decipherment of them should take, and of making the first steps along it, is due to Professor Jensen. But he has mixed so many arbitrary and unproved assumptions with his first intuitions, and so largely adopted the unscientific methods of his predecessors, as to prejudice the whole of his system and obscure the elements of truth that were in it. Never-

[1] *Trans. Soc. Bib'. Arch.*, Vol. VII, p. 248.

theless the fact remains that he had the wisdom and penetration to accept M. Six's discovery of the name of Carchemish, which is more than can be said of myself. M. Six suggested the identification to me before he did so to Prof. Jensen, but I was led away by the belief that the bilingual "boss" obliged us to give the goat's head the value of *tarku*, and accordingly did not take advantage of it.

The researches embodied in my recent communications to the Society have, all unknown to myself, prepared the way for my doing so at last. Those who have read them will remember that among other points which I believe I have determined are (1) that the Hittite characters are used ideographically with values not necessarily the same as those which they have when used phonetically, (2) that the Cappadocian *aba-klês* "high-priest" is a word borrowed from the Babylonian *aba-kalla* or *aba-kalê* "the chief of the galli," and that it is found in the Hittite texts, and (3) that it follows from this that the Hittite character has the phonetic value of *ga*. Now, in the inscriptions from Jerablûs or Carchemish, we find in a prominent position the word  (J. II i, III, 2), or  and  (J. III, 3, I, 2, 5, where instead of the nominative suffix *-s*, we have the accusative *-n*.) Here the last two characters but one in the name are *ga* and *me*, the value of the latter of which has long since been given by the bilingual boss, while the name itself is followed by the determinative of "district," which I had previously confounded with the ideograph of "king." The latter, however, is (or) as on the boss of Tarkondêmos, while  and all alike denoted "country" the first designating the "district" attached to a city, the second "country" in general, while the third means probably "mountain-land."[1]

A name with which the determinative of "district" is coupled, which occurs on the monuments of Carchemish, and with one

[1] What I have said on this subject in *Proc.* XXI, 206, is completely erroneous. My error in confounding two different characters, at a time when but few Hittite texts were known, has been followed by all my successors, thus blocking the way to a successful decipherment of the inscriptions.

exception not elsewhere, and which is formed by four characters, the second and third of which are respectively *ga* and *me*, can have but one signification. It must be the name of Gargamis or Carchemish. M. Six was therefore right in his suggestion, and the phonetic values of a certain number of the Hittite characters are assured. It follows from this that the goat's head, besides having the ideographic value of *tarku* as on the bilingual boss, had also the phonetic value of *is* or *es* when used syllabically. It is worth noticing that on a coin of Laodicea the Phrygian Zeus, with the name of Aseus, holds a goat by the left hand (*Mionnet*, IV, p. 313).

The Hittite inscription on the seal of Indi-limma, the son of Serdamu,[1] in the Ashmolean Museum can now be explained. It consists of four characters, the last two of which are ideographs which accompany the figure of a goddess on another seal. The first two are the goat's head and a bar, similar to the one on the Kouyunjik seal No. 4, to which an oblique line is attached, separating it from the ideographs that follow. As the goat's head has the phonetic value of *Is*, and we know from the cuneiform inscription that the name of the goddess represented by the Hittite hieroglyphs was Iskhar, it is clear that the bar had the phonetic value of *khar*. It is further clear that the oblique line, like the similar oblique wedge in the cuneiform texts, served to separate an ideograph from its phonetic equivalent or else to show that the character with which it was associated was used ideographically. Consequently *Is-khar* ⧹ IDEOGRAPH + IDEOGRAPH represents the name of the goddess written both phonetically and ideographically. Equally clear as to the use of the oblique wedge is the evidence of H. V, 4. Here we have a word with which I shall deal further on, and which therefore can be read only provisionally at present. It is written N-DA-MIS (–) *-mis-ya*, which other examples show was pronounced Indamisya. [I represent the oblique wedge by (–) and ideographs by capital LETTERS.] The tree (*inda*) and its plural affix (*mis*) form together a compound ideograph, and the fact that the last syllable is further denoted by the phonetic complement *mis*, is indicated by inserting the oblique wedge after the ideographs. An

[1] The first character ⟨⟨⟨⟨, however, may be intended for *khi* and not *se*, since we find the name Ἰρδαμουτάς or Ἰρδαμουτάς in Isaurian inscriptions copied by Prof. Sterrett at Dulgerler, the ancient Artanada.

interesting example of the use of the oblique wedge is the word for "city," "place" *m*-(–)-*n*-DET. (B. M. 2, Bab. 4), as compared with *m-a-n*-DET. (B. M. 5), where it is dropped as soon as the vowel after *m* is written.

The meaning of the oblique line is thus cleared up at last. It is not a word-divider; that function, as was first pointed out by Dr. Peiser, is fulfilled by the character 𓏺𓎛; it was, on the contrary, used like the oblique wedge in the cuneiform inscriptions of Cappadocia, to tell us where we are dealing with ideographs and their phonetic equivalents in the text, or else with abbreviated syllables. Thus at the beginning of the Hamath inscription it is found together with 𓏺𓎛 in order to indicate that the phonetic reading of the ideograph 𓂋 "prince" is 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 𓂋 *ta-me-s.*[1] Similarly it marks a break in the text, and thus may be employed to separate one sentence (or paragraph) from another, and in the case of an inscription on a seal perhaps to denote where the legend ends.

The last two examples I have given of the name of Carchemish follow a word which ends with the same case termination, and as in three instances this is the name of a deity (as shown by its determinative), the two examples must be adjectival forms of the name of the city. In order to determine what these adjectival forms are, I must briefly recapitulate certain facts which have already been laid before the members of the Society.

(1) Boghaz Keui was a Hittite capital, the centre of the road-system of eastern Asia Minor, and Hittite inscriptions have been found on its site both on seals and on the rock. (2) Fragments of cuneiform tablets have also been excavated there by M. Chantre, inscribed in a non-Semitic language, which must accordingly have been that of the Hittite inhabitants. (3) This language turns out to be the same as that of the two letters from Arzawa in the Tel el-Amarna collection, in which the name of the king, Tarkundaraus, had already raised a presumption that they were of Hittite origin. (4) The language of these letters can be partially deciphered, and

[1] The ideographic meaning of the basket-handle was first determined by myself twenty years ago. Prof. Jensen makes it "the lord." *Tames* appears in the oblique case *ta-mis* in M. 6. In H. V, 4 𓀀 𓏏𓏏𓏏 𓏏𓏏𓏏 𓂋 𓀀 (the correct reading) is probably DET. *ta-a*-MES-*mis*, that is *tamis*. The determinative (a throne with the emblem of authority stuck in it) with its suffix in H. IV, 4 takes the place of the adjective "powerful" in line 1. In Bor 3 compared with H. V, 5, 𓏏𓏏𓏏 is found in the place of 𓀀, proving the equivalence of the two characters.

the grammatical forms so obtained used for the decipherment of the Hittite texts. (5) In addition to the Arzawa letters help can also be obtained from the forms of certain Hittite names in the Tel el-Amarna tablets and on the Egyptian monuments: thus from Arzawa we have Arzawaya (Greek Ἀρζύβιος) the "Arzawaian," from Samalli Samali(t)sis "the Samalian"; perhaps also Mizri-ma "the Borderer," from the Assyrian Muzri, like Μισραῖος in an inscription from the temple of the Korycian Zeus.

That the nominative singular of the noun terminated in *-s* was an early discovery of mine. The names just quoted show that gentilic adjectives formed their nominative in *-ya-s*, *-si-s*, and perhaps *-ma-s*. To these forms must be added *-na-s*, one of the Arzawa letters giving us SAR-*us* *Khattannas* "the Hittite king," and *Khattannas* appearing as *Khattinâ* in the Assyrian representation of the name of the Hittites who were settled on the Orontes. The commander of the Hittite cavalry in the war with Ramses II had the name of Targa-nnas, "he who belongs to the god Tarku." The same suffix probably appears in Qibsu-na, the name of a town near Arina in the neighbourhood of Komana, which is written Qibsu by Sennacherib as well as by Ramses II, who tells us that Targa-tazis was the captain of its "archers"; and in the Rukhasi-na of the Egyptian treaty with the Hittites, I have recognised the Rukhizi of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (*Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, pp. 3, 4, 10). The other suffix *-ya* is found in a large number of Hittite local names; *e.g.*, Kunalia and Nulia among the Khattinâ, and Ippuriya, Tintuniya, Zarastaniya, Khammukhiya, Zitagbissiya, and Tukhubbiya, on a tablet discovered by M. Chantre at Boghaz Keui, on which is a list of tributary towns.[1] The suffixes probably denote the district attached to a town, Kunalia, for instance, being "the district of Kunal," Rukhasi-na "the district of Rukhizi."

In the language of Arzawa the termination of the accusative singular was *-n*, that of one of the oblique cases was a vowel, and that of the nominative singular, and perhaps also accusative plural, was *-s*. Another form of the accusative plural ended in *-d*. When an adjective or possessive pronoun was closely attached to a substantive it took the case-ending, the substantive often remaining without one; thus *Khaluga-talla-n* is "messenger" in the accusative, but *Khaluga-talla-ti-n* "thy messenger," though we have *Khaluga-talla-n*

[1] Among towns with names ending in *-na* in the same list are . . basbu-na, Zibiskhu-na, Khammu-nâ and Khatete-nâ.

mi-n "my messenger" by the side of the nominative *Khalugа-tal-mi-s*. The oblique cases of the pronouns could be used instead of the possessive; TUR-MES-*mi* is "my sons," literally "the sons of me," *kâlatta-mi* "my brother" (though this perhaps is vocative), TUR-MES-*ti* "thy sons." The vowel of the pronoun was, however, apparently affected by the vocalism of the substantive, since we have GIS-MES-*tu* "thy trees," while *aniyâ-tala-mu* seems to be "my letter(s)." With the preposition *katti* or *kat*, again, we have *katti-mi* "to me," but *kat-ta* "to thee." The first person of the aorist or perfect of the verb terminated in *-i* and *-iya*; e.g., *lal-i* and *lal-iya* "I have sent" or "given," *auman-i* "I have despatched." The third person of the precative was denoted by the prefixes *khu-man*, and the third person plural ended in *-(i)n*. The termination of the adverb was *-(a)nda*. For other peculiarities of Arzawa grammar, see *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1897, pp. 2–6.

That the accusative singular in Hittite terminated in *-n* I concluded (and stated in the *Academy*) many years ago. The conclusion has now been verified by the discovery that the grammar of Arzawa is practically that of the Hittite texts. I showed at the same time that the accusative suffix is represented by the sleeve . This is made clear by the Bowl inscription, which begins with a crook, the picture of a bowl, and , the whole signifying: This "bowl (I made)." I had already inferred from the Hamath inscriptions that the first person of the perfect of the verb was denoted by and that the mason's trowel meant "to make." In the Bowl inscription the words "This bowl" are followed by the mason's trowel and the suffix in question. Arzawa grammar obliges us to ascribe to the latter the value of *-i* or *-ya*. As the same suffix is also used to form adjectives, the value must be *-ya*.

We can now return to the three forms of the name of Carchemish. will be *Gar-ga-me-is*, *Gar-ga-me-si-ya-s*, and , which is in the same case, will be also *Gar-ga-me-si-yas*. That terminated in *-s* I pointed out nearly twenty years ago.

At Boghaz Keui the god Tarku holds in his hand the flower *si*,

while the goat stands at his side.[1] On a coin of Laodicea the god with the goat is the Phrygian Zeus Aseus. The flower also appears as a symbol on the coins of Tarsus, where the tutelary god was probably Sandan or Sandês. Tarsus,—Tarzi in Assyrian and Aramaic, Tarshish in Hebrew—claims connection with the Isaurian and Cilician Τάρασις, in which those who will may see a side-form of Tarku.[2] Perhaps both "goat" and "flower" were alike *esi(s)* or *asi(s)* in the Asianic dialects, and the similarity of sound caused the flower to be coupled with the goat-god.[3] Asês is a Cilician name found at Hamaxia, and Asios, the eponym of a Lydian district and tribe,[4] took the place of the god Attys the son of Kotys in some genealogies. Between Lydia and Cilicia there was a close connection in proper names, mythology and language.

A much injured inscription from Jerablûs (Messerschmidt XV, B 1) has in the place of "Carchemish" the ideograph of the sacred stone △ followed by a doubtful *s*, *si* and *i*. This may read Qadis-si-i in the genitive or locative case. Carchemish was a Hierapolis or Sacred city whose sanctity was later on transferred to the neighbouring Membij, and a little to the south of it was Dianæ Fanum, now Zelebi, which is called Ktāsha or Qadesh in the geographical list of Thothmes III (No. 249). See *Records of the Past*, New Ser., V, p. 37. In the Aleppo inscription, where the writing is archaic and somewhat abnormal, the district over which the king is said to rule is . . , the last syllable of the name being lost. There are only three districts of which a royal builder at Aleppo could have called himself king, Aleppo itself, the Assyrian Khalman, Yakhanu, and Carchemish. The second and third characters *ga-mĕ* exclude the first two, but suit the name of Carchemish, and we must therefore conclude that the first character

[1] The god is represented as having a club in the right hand, the crook or lituus slung behind the back, and a double-headed sword in the belt. The same god is figured with his wife or mother at Fraktin, which Prof. Ramsay has shown to be Das-tarkôn, "the sanctuary (?) of Tarku."

[2] That Tarasis was the name of a god may be gathered from the compound name Tarasi-kodissas originally borne by the Isaurian or Lykaonian emperor Zeno.

[3] At Gurun (line 6), if the copy is right, "the supreme god Si" is coupled with "the supreme goddess ," like Tarku at Fraktin.

[4] The Scholiast on Apollodorus Rhodius II, 777 states categorically: "Lydia was formerly called Asia."

had the value of *gar*. A variant of it seems to be , possibly also . I have assumed that the character which follows it is really *ga*, since George Smith's copy of the text agrees with Dr. Messerschmidt's in indicating that such is the case. But there is a bare possibility of its being really what we shall see hereafter was the equivalent of *al*. If so, the name will be Kha-al-m-[a-n] or Aleppo, and the initial character will have the value of *kha*.

At Gurun* the name of Carchemish is written *Gar-ga-me-i-si-ya* (the last character being uncertain). This proves that Halévy was right in making a vowel; it also proves that the vowel is *i* or *e*.

Nearly twenty years ago I pointed out that is another vowel. Like it is inserted or omitted at the pleasure of the scribe. I conjectured that it represented *e* for reasons which we now know were incorrect. I now make it *a*. This value is arrived at on the following grounds: (1) We have seen that a Hittite adjectival suffix was *-na(s)*. Now the word for "lord" is written in the nominative singular in the following ways: (Malatiyeh), (Bor 2), (Merash 3), (Hamath I, 1), (Hamath V, 1), (Bor 2; *cf.* Jerablûs II, 7, and Bulgar Maden 1), (Bab. 2). We must read these respectively: X (*i.e.*, ideograph), X-*na-s*, X-*n-a-s*, X-*na-ya-s*, X-*na-a-ya-s*, X-*na*-NA-*a-ya-s*, X-*na-i*. As the suffix is *-na*, must be *a*. (2) Secondly, a common suffix in the inscriptions is . Thus we find it in J. III, 2, attached to *Gar-ga-me-is*, and in H. IV, 1 attached to the name of a god which also ends in *-s*. It further appears, as we shall see, in the demonstrative forms *ya-* *-a* (J. III, 4, H. V, 2) by the side of *ya-a* (Karaburna 1, and Ivriz) and *ya-me-s* (J. I, 1, M. 4), where for the sake of clearness I assume that must be read *a*. Among the Hittite proper names recorded in the Assyrian inscriptions the only ones which correspond in form are

* Gurun is called Guriania in an Assyrian letter (K 1080), which further describes the district of Gamir as being in its neighbourhood.

Kundas-pi and Kustas-pi kings of Kummukh, Tarkunda-pî, and Sanda-pî (*Proc. S.B.A.*, May, 1889). But the Assyrian 𒀀𒀀 is *mi* as well as *pi*, and it is possible that what was *m* in some parts of the Hittite region was pronounced *b*, *p* or *w* in others. However this may be, the spelling *Sanda-pi-i* seems to indicate a pronunciation *mî*, when we bear in mind parallel names like Sapa-lulmê, Sanda-sarmi, and the like. Moreover, it is difficult otherwise to explain 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 by the side of 𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 *ya-me-i* on the Izgin Obelisk (E 17), and 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 *ya-me-a* (followed by "city") at Gurun (l. 5), not to speak of *a-* 𒀀 *-a* by the side of *a-mei* "I" in H. IV, 4. Hence I arrive at the conclusion that 𒀀 had the value of *m*. The conclusion is verified by the Kouyunjik seals. Here *Sanda-*[*da*]*-me-s* on No. 5 corresponds with *Sanda-* 𒀀 *-s* on the others. That it represented either *am* or simple *m* is shown by the fact that the proper name Khila-m-s (J. II, 1; III, 1, 3) is written *Khila-m-m* at Bulgar Maden (2), and that it follows *a* and precedes *ar* in the name of the Ivriz king. I think it must have been properly a sonant *m*, as the oblique line is drawn after the preceding *a* in the name of the Ivriz king. It should be noted that in one of the Jerablûs inscriptions (Messerschmidt XV, B 2) 𒀀𒀀 replaces 𒀀, which appears in another inscription (J. I, 5) in the same word.

(*To be continued.*)

LIST OF CHARACTERS.

No.	Character.	Object represented.	Ideographic Value.	Phonetic Value.
1		—	—	*a*
2		—	—	*ai?*, *ê?*
3		(altar)	—	*i*
4		(standard planted in the ground)	—	*ya*, (*u?*)
5		(altar on the ground)	—	*is*, (*us?*)
6		(standard)	—	*yas*, (*us?*)
7		(yoke)	—	*s*
8		(scourge)	—	*s*, (*z?*)
9		(ass's head)	—	(*a*)*s*, (*sa?*)
10		(flower)	—	*si*
11		(knife)	*sen?* "cut," "destroy"	*si*
12		(goat's head)	*tarku*, *targhu*	*is*
13		(kid's head?)	—	*as*

No.	Character.	Object represented.	Ideographic Value.	Phonetic Value.
14		(sleeve)	—	*n*
15		—	—	*na*, *ṇ* (*n*), *an* before *n*
16		(water)	*Khat(ta)* "Hittite," *ana* "God"	*na*
17		(hyæna?)	—	*nâ*
18		(fist)	—	*nas*
19		(basket)	—	*m* (*ṃ*), *mĕ*, *am* before *m*
20		(four)	—	*me*
21		(place)	—	*mâ*
22		(seat)	—	*ma*
23		(flower?)	—	*am*
24		—	—	*mis*, *is?*, *ân?*
25		(fist)	—	*mes*
26		(boot)	"the earth," "land," "below"	*mi?*, *pi?*, *u* (*we*)
27		—	—	*mar*
28		—	"to give"	*la?*
29		(ram's head)	—	*li*
30		(couch)	—	*lu?*
31		(quiver)	—	*al*, *ar*

No.	Character.	Object represented.	Ideographic Value.	Phonetic Value.
32		—	—	*ar*
33		(plough)	*ara* "city"	*ra*, *ar*
34		(bull's head)	*aram*, *ara* "city"	*ra*
35		(rabbit's head)	—	*ga*, *ka*
36		(builder's trowel)	*ga* "to make"	*ga*
37	,	(three)	*Khatta* "Hittite"?, or *Khilaqqa*, "Cilician"?	*ga*(*s?*), *ga*(*t?*)
38		(apron)	*kali*(*na*) "gallos-priest"	*gal*, *kal*
39		(fringe)	—	*gar*
40		—	—	*gar*, (*kha?*)
41		—	—	*gat*, *kat*, (*at?*)
42		(breast plate?)	—	*katen?*
43		(vase?)	—	*da*
44		(bundle?)	—	*da*, *na?*
45		—	—	*tu*, *tew*
46		—	—	*ti*
47	,	(depressed hand)	*das?*	*ta*

No.	Character.	Object represented.	Ideographic Value.	Phonetic Value.
48		(basket handle)	*aba* "above," "the lord"	*ta ?*
49		—	—	*ba ?*
50		(leg)	"priest"	*ba* or *bal ?*
51		(lituus)	—	*gha* (*qa*)
52		(ram's head on stand)	—	*ghat* (or *ghan ?*)
53		(stand)	—	*khar*
54		(sacred cake ?)	"Goddess Khila"?	*khila ?*, *khi ?*
55		—	*amei* "I (am)"	*a*
56		(doll)	—	*a*
57		—	—	*a*
58		(crook)	*yâ* "this"	*ya*
59		—	"god Sandes" or "Sandan"	*sanda*
60		—	—	*lad* or *lid ?*
61		(sacred stone)	*qadis ?*	*sis ?*
62		(fetish)	"the Sun-god"	*nan*
63		(at Malatiyeh)	—	*i* or *y*

DETERMINATIVES.

No.	Character.	Determinative.	Object represented.
1		word-divider	
2		denotes an ideograph or abbreviated syllable	(Oblique line).
3		affix of plurality	
4		determinative of a class of persons	(Word issuing from the mouth).
5		determinative of priests (*gal*)	
6		determinative of soldiers	(Nose and chin).
7		determinative of the first personal pronoun	(Hand pointing to face).
8		determinative of officials	
9		determinative of power (*ana*)	(Hand with dirk).
10		determinative of authority	(Hand with axe).
11		determinative of deity (*anas*)	(Sacred stone wrapped in cloths).
12		determinative of locality	
13		determinative of city (*arâ*)	(Plough).
14		determinative of city	

No.	Character.	Determinative.	Object represented.
15		determinative of district	(Conical hill, as in Cappadocia).
16		determinative of country	
17		determinative of mountain-land	
18		determinative of supremacy	

IDEOGRAPHS.

No.	Character.	Ideographic Value.	Object represented.
1		"king" (*sar-mis*)	(Royal head-dress).
2		"king" (*sar-mes*)	
3		"king" (*sar*)	(Glove).
4		"king" (*sar*?)	
5		"prince"	(Cap?).
6		"high-(priest)" (*aba·[gali]*)	
7		"temple" (*sunna*?)	
8		(*dime* or *timme*)	

No.	Character.	Ideographic Value.	Object represented.
9		"bowl"	
10		"chief"	
11		"dirk-bearer"	(Dirk and determinative).
12		"the Sun-(god)" (*Nan*)	
13		"princely"	(Throne with symbol of authority).
14		"image"	
15		"sanctuary"	
16		"tree" (*anda, yanatu*)	
17		"to love"	
18		"gate"	
19	IC IC	"lord" (*a*(?)*na*)	
20		"to support"	(Column).
21		"inscription"	
22		"seal"	(Tablet of metal).
23		"goddess Iskhara"	

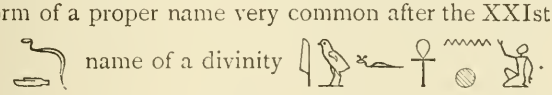
THE EGYPTIAN NAME OF JOSEPH.

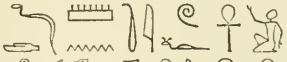
BY PROF. E. NAVILLE, *D.C.L., etc.*

In the list of honours which were conferred upon Joseph after he had successfully interpreted the dream of Pharaoh, we find the following :—

ויקרא פרעה שם יוסף צפנת פענח

"And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-paaneah" (Genesis xli, 45). Many interpretations of this "name" have been proposed by scholars: a mere list of them alone would occupy too much space. I shall only mention the two latest interpretations which have been adopted by several Egyptologists, and on their authority by Biblical scholars. Prof. Krall[1] and Prof. Steindorff[2] have both recognized in it a form of a proper name very common after the XXIst Dynasty.


name of a divinity .

Prof. Krall proposes  *Tĕ-month-ef-ônch.*

Prof. Steindorff, *D̲ĕ-pnutĕ-ĕf-ōnḫ.*

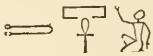
ϫε-ⲡⲛⲟⲩϯ-ⲉϥ ⲱⲛϧ, "es spricht der Gott und es lebt," the god speaks and he lives.

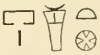
Both these interpretations are open to the same objection: they make not the slightest reference to what Joseph was, or to what he had done. The young Hebrew had interpreted to the king two dreams which had baffled the learning and the intelligence of "all the magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof." As a reward, Pharaoh bestowed upon him the highest dignities, the last of which was this name. It seems natural to think that this name implied a rank and precedence above those to whom Joseph had shown

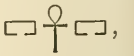
[1] Seventh Oriental Congress of Orientalists, Egyptian Section, p. 92.

[2] *Zeitschr.*, 1889, p. 41.

himself so superior. A name of this kind: "the god speaks and he lives," or "Menthu speaks and he lives," would be unmeaning in this case. Besides, admitting that the narrative has been written long after the event, we must suppose that the writer took care to avoid serious historical blunders. Certainly at the Court of a Hyksos king in Lower Egypt, Menthu, a Theban god, could hardly have been known. I believe, therefore, that Prof. Erman was on the right path when, as far back as 1883,[3] he interpreted the name as being a title found on the stele in the "Bibliothèque Imperiale:"[4] *dt nt per anχ*, which may be translated, "the members of the College of hierogrammatists," or of the "Sacred College."

But I cannot agree entirely with Prof. Erman. This is not the usual way of writing this title: it is generally (Inscript. of Canopus, l. 34):  (Mendes stele, ll. 23 24): : (Brugsch, *Lex.*, p. 1577). Besides, as we know from the inscriptions, the , *ἱερογραμματεῖς*, were a numerous class of priests, and this title would have been out of keeping with the exalted position of Joseph, as Prof. Krall rightly observes.

The end of the name has, to my mind, been correctly interpreted by Prof. Erman; נת פענח is the exact transcription of . It is well known that , which originally reads *per*, drops its in composite words, and is transcribed פ in words like פיתֹם;  פִּי־בֶסֶת. As for ענח, it corresponds exactly to , the three signs forming the phonetic reading of .

It is natural that Joseph, after having shown such marvellous wisdom, should be given a high position in the  , the Sacred College, probably the chief religious institution of the country. Its books were supposed to contain all the wisdom and the hidden

[3] *Zeitschr.*, 1883, p. 59.

[4] Rougé, p. 72.

knowledge of Thoth, and from it came the learned, the [5], the "wise men" of Scripture, and the [6], or [], the magicians.

We have therefore to look in the [] for a title implying a sufficiently high standing for the new favourite, and having a feminine form, indicated by the relative []. This we find in the title of one of the attendants of Osorkon celebrating the Sed festival at Bubastis. Behind the king, and at the head of the [], the magicians, walks a man holding a book-roll and called [] *thest nt pe ankh*. The correct transcription of this title would be צתנתפענח. The only correction which I make is to replace ס by ת. The transcription צס may have arisen from the fact that there are various Hebrew words beginning with צס, which would have a much more familiar sound to Hebrew ears than צת.

I believe the צ is here the equivalent of [], the phonetic reading of []. Or it may come from the variant for [], [] (Brugsch, *Lex.*, p. 1598), where the [], which is the equivalent of צ, occurs. The seven [] of the Book of the Dead (71, 16) are called [] in the Saïtic text.

[], although it refers to men, to soldiers, as in the inscription of Una,[7] has a feminine form which agrees with the feminine relative []. I believe therefore that philologically the transcription of [] by צתנת פענח is fully justified, with the change of one single letter.

The title itself corresponds very well with the position which the king intended to give to Joseph. [] is translated by Brugsch:

[5] Rougé, *loc. cit.*, p. 71.
[6] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 687.
[7] Erman, *Zeitschr.*, 1882, p. 6.

"Officer," "Commander," "Captain," "Lord," and the variant ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ, the master by his eloquence and his wisdom." It certainly was a very exalted dignity to be the master or Head of the , the high school of all religious and scientific learning, which probably was at Heliopolis. It was a worthy accompaniment to the civil position which had already been bestowed upon Joseph. It put him at the head of the priesthood; on him it would devolve to be κρυπτῶν εὑρετής, which Josephus says is the meaning of the word, and his position was confirmed by his marrying "Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On."

As for these two names, I cannot agree with Prof. Steindorff's interpretation; he translates אסנת *Ns-nt*, "der Neit gehörig," and פוטיפרע *Petepre'*, "the gift of Rē," Heliodorus.

If we remember that Potipherah is high priest of Heliopolis, it is rather strange that his daughter should be called "she who belongs to Neith," the goddess of Saïs, whose worship was totally different from that of the deity specially worshipped at On. Therefore I still adhere to what I proposed elsewhere,[8] that Asenath is the Egyptian name or *Senit*, which the Semites pronounced with a prosthetic א. The name of is common under the XIth and the XIIth Dynasties. It was borne by a queen of the XIth Dynasty.

The transcription "Heliodorus," for Potipherah seems very natural at first sight, and I advocated it myself. But it may be said against it that this name with two articles has a rather strange look. I believe there is a better interpretation which occurs several times under a very similar form. I should read . We know, from the Coptic and from the Greek transcriptions, that there was an ō in the word . That would account for the ו of the Hebrew name. We have the name of , which is that of a high priest, , of Heliopolis in the Old Empire, on the famous statue of Meidoom. It is

[8] Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, Asenath.

not impossible that it was read , the name of the god being always written first. Or the two forms of the name may have existed together, just as we find: and ; and . We have , and I believe we might equally well have , *Photep-ra*, which would transcribe exactly the Hebrew name of the high priest of On, Potipherah, and be analogous to that of the priest of the Old Empire.

The conclusions which have been drawn from these names as to the date of the narrative in Genesis seem to me rather hasty. For the complete title , we have a fixed date, it belongs to the twenty-second year of Osorkon IInd, the fourth king of the XXIInd Dynasty; but it may be much older. The title is found in the inscription of Una. The , although I cannot quote the oldest instance of the use of this word, is certainly a very ancient institution in Egypt, as is everything connected with Thoth. The name *Senit* occurs in the XIth Dynasty. I believe therefore that at present it is premature to base on these names a theory concerning the date of the composition of the history of Joseph.

THE TRANSLITERATION OF EGYPTIAN.

Extract from Letter of Prof. Dr. J. Lieblein,
Professor of Egyptology at the University of Christiania.

1°. À mon opinion la langue Égyptienne n'est pas du tout Sémitique, mais une langue Khamitique ; cependant comme telle elle s'approche plus des langues Sémitiques (*cfr.* Benfey, *Ueber das Verhältniss der ägyptischen Sprache zum semitischen Sprachstamm*) que des langues Indo-européennes ; mais le parentage n'est nullement d'une telle nature que l'on puisse appeler l'idiome Égyptien une langue Sémitique. Pour mieux expliquer ma pensée je donne, en conservant la généalogie biblique, le tableau suivant.

Noë,
La langue des Noachides.

Sem,	Kham,	Japhet,
Les langues Sémitiques.	Les langues Khamitiques.	Les langues Indo-Européennes.

Toutes ces langues sont ainsi parentes ; mais les langues Indo-européennes se sont séparées de la souche commune longtemps, sans doute, avant que la séparation des deux autres groupes avait lieu. Aussi ces deux groupes ont-ils, comme voisins le plus long temps, exercé influence l'un sur l'autre.

2°. L'école Berlinoise prétend que 𓄿, 𓇋, 𓂝, 𓇌, 𓏭 et 𓅱 n'étaient pas voyelles, mais consonnes. Comment une telle opinion est possible il m'est tout-à-fait incomprehensible. On n'a qu'à voit comment la langue Copte a reproduit les anciens mots Égyptiens, comment les Grecs et les Latins ont transcrit les mots et les noms Égyptiens, comment enfin les anciens Égyptiens ont transcrit les noms Grecs et Latins, pour se convaincre que 𓄿, 𓇋, 𓂝, etc., étaient des voyelles pures, comme celles des langues Copte, Grecque, Latine.

3°. Après beaucoup de discussion, de longues correspondences, Lepsius a enfin réussit, au Congrès international des Orientalistes en

1874, à faire accepter son système de transcription qui, à quelques legères modifications près, à été suivi dès lors par tout le monde. Grace aux travaux de Lepsius, nous étions tout près d'une solution définitive. C'était donc bien étonnant—je ne veux pas faire usage des mots plus forts ; car dans les choses scientifiques il n'est pas juste de parler, p. ex., du manque de piété—que les égyptologues Berlinois, les désciples et les successeurs immédiats de Lepsius, étaient les premiers à abolir son système. Par leur innovation, qui, selon mon opinion est fondamentalement erronée ou en tout cas inutile, ils ont de nouveau jeté incertitude et confusion dans les études égyptologiques.

Pour quel motif désire-t-on ici une transcription? Naturellement pour donner le son des hieroglyphes dans une alphabet connu non seulement des savants, mais aussi et surtout du public en général, Cependant les signes proposés par les Berlinois ʒ, *i*, c, n'indiquent aucun son qui se laisse prononcer ; car selon leur théorie ces signes nous donnent des consonnes dont la prononciation est incertaine et dont de même on ne sait non plus les voyelles adhérentes, de sorte qu'il est absolument impossible de les lire.

La transcription des Berlinois fait donc défaut en tant qu'elle ne répond pas à la notion de la transcription ; car non seulement ces signes ʒ, *i*, c, ne donnait la prononciation, mais ils la déclarent impossible, la cachent pour ainsi dire.

Mais il y a encore une autre objection qui, s'il est possible, est encore plus grave. C'est que la transcription Berlinoise fait présumer que l'Égyptien soit une langue Sémitique, ce qui n'est pas prouvé et que beaucoup d'égyptologues ne croient pas. Cela empéchera l'adoption générale de la nouvelle transcription ; car il n'est guère probable que les égyptologues veulent accepter une transcription qu'ils regardent comme fondamentalement fausse.

Pour ces motifs il m'est absolument impossible d'adopter la nouvelle transcription Berlinoise. Au contraire, je le regarde comme une devoir de protester contre elle formellement et avec toute la force d'une conviction intime.

Permettez-moi d'ajouter que si The Society of Biblical Archæology adopte cette transcription, je me trouverai malheureusement dans la pénible necessité de me regarder comme exclu de la collaboration pour moi si chère a vos *Proceedings*, où jusqu'ici j'ai eu l'honneur et la satisfaction de prendre part dans la discussion scientifique.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, May 13th, 1903, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

F. LEGGE · "Some Egyptian Ivories."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
——— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
——— La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
——— La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte.
AMIAUD, A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
Berlin Museum. Ægyptische Urkunden.
,, ,, Griechische und Koptische Urkunden.
BISSING, BARON VON, "Metalgefässe" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
BUDGE, E. A. WALLIS, *Litt. D.*, "The Mummy."
——— Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862–1873.
CRUM, W. E., "Coptic Monuments" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
DARESSY, G., "Ostraca" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).
——— "Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).
DELITZSCH, Das Babylonische Weltschopfungs Epos.
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——— 2nd series, 1869.
——— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
——— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
EBERS, G., Papyrus Ebers.
ERMAN, Papyrus Westcar.
Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.

GOLÉNISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
——————— Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection de.
GRANT-BEY, Dr., The Ancient Egyptian Religion and the Influence it exerted on the Religions that came in contact with it.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
HOMMEL, Dr., Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. 1892.
JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.
JOACHIM, H., Papyros Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
KUSSMETTER, Der Occultesmus des Altertums des Akkader, Babyloner, Chaldaer, &c.
LEDERER, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berücksichtigung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.
LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
LEFÉBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2me partie. "Osiris."
LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
LEHMANN, Samassumukin König von Babylonien 668 v. Chr., p. xiv, 173; 47 plates.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
MARIETTE, "Monuments divers."
——————— "Dendera."
MARUCHI, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia.
MASPERO, G., "Annales du service des Antiquités de l'Égypte."
MÜLLER, D. H., Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien.
POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
——————— Recherches sur la Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.
SCHAEFFER, Commentationes de papyro medicinali Lipsiensi.
SCHOUW, Charta papyracea graece scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
STRAUSS and TORNEY, Der Altägyptische Götterglaube.
VISSER, I., Hebreeuwsche Archaeologie. Utrecht, 1891.
WALTHER, J., Les Découvertes de Nineve et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890.
WILCKEN, M., Actenstücke aus der Königl. Bank zu Theben.
WILTZKE, Der Biblische Simson der Ägyptische Horus-Ra.
WINCKLER, HUGO, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna. Vols. I and II.
——————— Textbuch-Keilinschriftliches zum Alten Testament.
WESSELEY, C., Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El Fajum.
Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
ZIMMERN, H., Die Assyriologie als Hülfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1903.

Fourth Meeting, 13*th May*, 1903.

F. G. HILTON PRICE, Esq., *Dir. S.A.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

The Council sincerely regrets to have to record the death of Dr. W. Pleyte, Director of the Museum of Antiquities at Leyden, and one of the most distinguished Members of this Society.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From JOSEPH POLLARD.—The Oldest Code of Laws in the World; by Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A. 8vo. Edinburgh.

From F. LEGGE.—Explorations in Bible Lands; by H. V. Hilprecht. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1903.

From the Publishers—Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern; by Dr. A. Jeremias.

From the Publishers.—Moses und Hammurabi; by Dr. J. Jeremias.

From the Trustees of the British Museum.—The Annals of the Kings of Assyria. Vol. I. By E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A, Litt.D., and L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A.

From the Author.—Ilchester lectures on Greeko-Slavonian literature; by M. Gaster.

From the Author.—Osiris Vegétant; by Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann.

From the Author.—The Religion of Egypt; by Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann.

The following Candidates for Membership were elected :—

L. Bishop, 56, Denton Road, Hornsey, N.

G. A. Wainwright, 3, Worcester Avenue, Clifton, Bristol.

J. Isbister, Matakohe, Auckland, New Zealand.

The following Paper was read :—

PROF. PETRIE: "Recent Excavations at Abydos."

Remarks were added by Sir H. Howorth; Rev. Dr. Walker; Mr. Rouse, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By Prof. Edouard Naville, *D.C.L., etc.*

(*Continued from page* 110.)

CHAPTER CLIIIa.

The Chapter of coming out of the net. (1)

O he who turns backwards, mighty of heart, who spreads his net before him, who entereth the earth! O you the fishermen sons of their fathers (2), who go round in the midst of the stream, you will not catch me in your net, in which you catch the disabled, and you will not carry me away in your canvas, in which you take away the evil ones in the earth; the frame of which reaches the sky, and the weights of which are on the earth.

For I will come out of its meshes and shine like Hunnu (Sokaris). I will come out of its bars (3) and shine like Sebak. I shall fly against you like a fisher whose fingers (4) are hidden.

I know the fork (5) which belongs to it. It is the great finger of Hunnu (Sokaris). I know the stake (6); it is the leg of Nemu (7). I know its pointed head, it is the hand of Isis. I know the name of its blade; it is the knife of Isis with which she cut the meat for Horus.

I know the name of the frame and of the weights. They are the feet and the legs of the Sphinx (8).

I know the name of the ropes with which fishing is done: they are the bonds of Tmu.

I know the names of the fishermen who are fishing. They are the worms (9), the ancestors of the blood drinkers (10), who pour their flow on my hands, when the great god the lord listens to the words in Heliopolis, in the night of the 15th of the month (11), in the temple of the moon.

I know the marked space (12) in which they are enclosed. It is the soil of iron on which the gods stand.

I know the name of the divine supervisor who takes hold of the fishes, and marks them on the tail. He is the supervisor of the divine property.

I know the name of the table on which he lays them (the fishes); it is the table of Horus.

He sits alone in the night; nobody sees him; the future ones (13) see him, and the present ones give him their acclamations.

I shine like Horus; I govern the land, and I go down to the land in the two great boats. Horus introduces me into the house of the Prince (14).

I have come as a fisher; the fork has been given into my hand; my blade is in my hand, my knife is in my hand. I come forth; I go round about, and I entangle in my net.

I know the name of the fork which closes the mouths vomiting (fire ?). It is the great finger of Osiris.

The fingers (prongs) which hold fast, they are the fingers of the ancestors of Rā, the claw of the ancestor of Hathor.

I know the strings which are on this fork, they are the bonds of the lord of mankind.

I know the name of the stake; the thigh of Nemu. Its point is the hand of Isis, its coil, the cord of the first-born god, its cordage the rope of Rā.

I know the name of the fishermen who are fishing; they are the worms, the ancestors of Rā, the creatures (15), the ancestors of Seb.

When what thou eatest is brought to thee, what I eat is brought to me. Thou eatest what is eaten by Seb and Osiris.

O (16) thou who turnest backwards, mighty of heart, who fishes and entangles him who enters the earth; O you fishers, sons of their fathers, and ye fowlers who are in Nefer-sent; you will not catch me in your nets, and you will not entangle me in your meshes, wherein you catch the disabled, and where you catch those who are in the earth; for I know it (the net), its frame above, and its weights below. Behold, I come, my stake is in my hand; the point is in my hand, the blade is in my hand.

I come, I arrive to my . . . . (?) I have come myself; I have come to bind it, to put it in its place. My knife is sharpened. I put it in its place.

The stake which is in my hand is the thigh of Nemu; the fork

which is in my hand is the fingers of Sokaris; this point which is in my hand is the claws of Isis; the blade which is in my hand is the knife of Nemu.

Behold I have come, I sit in the boat of Rā, I sail on the lake of Cha (17) and on the lake of the Northern sky.

I hear the words of the gods. I do what they are doing, I give praises to their persons, I live as they live.

N. appears on the ladder which was made for him by his father Rā, when Horus and Sut take hold of him.

NOTES.

In the Theban version the Chapter of the Net is divided into two, 153A and 153B, which have different titles and different vignettes. 153A is called the "*Chapter of coming out*," or, as might be translated, "*of escaping from the net.*" The vignettes represent a clap-net, used for waterfowl. The second Chapter is called "*the Chapter of escaping from those who catch* ," which, from the etymology, might be translated *foul* or *fetid fish*. There the vignette represents a drag-net containing fishes, and drawn by apes.

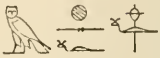
It is probable, one may suppose, that originally one Chapter referred to the fowlers, the , who use the clap-net, and the other to the fishermen, the , who use the drag-net. But in the form in which these Chapters appear in the three best texts where they have been preserved, London, 9900 (Aa), Paris, III, 93 (Pb.), and the papyrus of *Nu*, fowlers and fishermen are mixed together.

The text of 153A is very corrupt, and seems to differ greatly from the original. The variants between the chief documents are considerable, and show that the understanding of it was nearly lost. It probably had two different versions, which have been cast into one, since after the first two-thirds it begins over again and nearly repeats itself.

The Turin text contains only 153A, and that even much shorter, but it is followed by a rubric, which is absent from the Theban version.

The translation is made from the three above-named documents.

The vignette of 153A, in the papyrus III, 93, of the Louvre (Pb),

shows a clap-net drawn by four men. Behind it comes the deceased, holding in his hand two instruments mentioned in the text: the and the , called or  ; each of them consists of different parts having a distinct name.

In the papyrus of *Nu* the deceased is seen drawing the rope of the net.

In the vignette of London, 9900 (Aa), he is supposed to do the same.

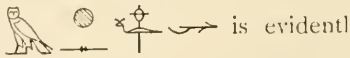
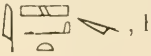
1. Among the dangers to which the deceased is exposed is that of being caught in a net by hidden genii, who will treat him as is done to water-fowl or fishes. But he escapes from this peril, because he knows the names of the fowlers and fishermen who intend to attack him, and also of the net itself, and of the various parts of which it consists. All these names are mystical; they are connected with some divinity, and this gives them a magical power, owing to which the deceased can make his escape.

2. I suppose this means fishermen, sons of fishermen.

3. Litt. the hands: the bars, the sides of the frame of the net.

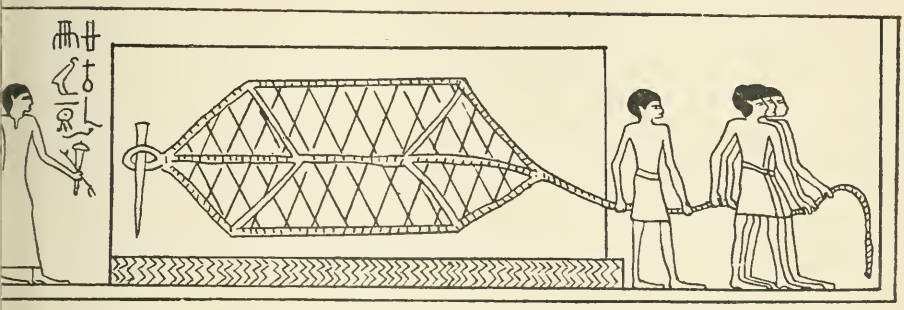
4. The fingers are often mentioned when we should say the hand. The act or the wound is attributed to the fingers. "Whose fingers are hidden," means he who hides the hand with which he will strike.

5. . The instrument in the hand of the deceased. Though the determinative is , it does not necessarily mean that it is made of wood; it may be the determinative of weapons in general. It has prongs, which are compared to nails or claws, so that it probably is a weapon like the bident for spearing fishes, the tines of which are held together by a string (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd edition, Vol. II, p. 107). Otherwise it is not unlike a netting needle (Wilkinson, *loc. cit.*, p. 175). If it is a weapon, one does not very well understand why it is said to belong to the net.

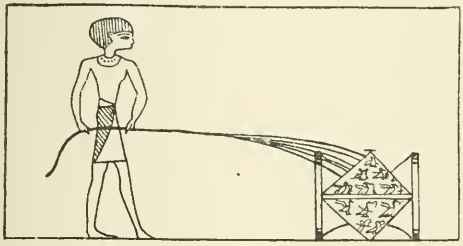
6. The  is evidently the stake or peg to which the end of the clap-net is fastened. But it must be noticed that in the vignette of London, 9900, this peg is a dagger. Therefore one may speak of its pointed head (Brugsch, *Dict. Suppl.*, p. 85), and of its  , blade.

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., May, 1903.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER 153A. Louvre, III, 93.



CHAPTER 153A. Louvre, 3084.

CHAPTER 153A. B.M., 9900.

CHAPTER 161.
Louvre, III, 93.

7. Nemu is perhaps a local name of Horus (Brugsch, *Dict. geog.*, p. 71).

8. . "The god in Lion form" (Renouf) is the name of the Sphinx (*Sphinx*, Vol. V, p. 193).

9. See Chapter 149, note 5.

10. We know from an inscription at Dendereh that the , the drinkers, feast on blood, (Brugsch, *Dict. Suppl.*, p. 18).

11. The late recension of Chapter 153 ends here, and does not contain 153B. It is followed by this rubric:

Said on a figure of the deceased which is placed in a boat. Thou shalt put the Sektit boat on his right, and the Âtit boat on his left. Offerings will be made to him of cakes, beer, and all good things, on the day of the birth of Osiris. He to whom these things have been done will be a living soul for ever, and will not die a second time.

12. . I consider this word as derived from , , which means to mark an object with a cut or with fire, for a religious purpose, or simply as an indication of property. A little further it is spoken of fishes "marked on the tail."

13. We have here the opposition between "those who are," and "those who are not," that is, those who are not yet, the future ones. The negative, which often expresses the idea of anteriority, is one of the usual ways of rendering the future; that which has not yet taken place, which is to come. An official of the XIIth dynasty says: "the king made me his commissioner of works, having charge of present and future work" (*Zeitschr.*, 1882, p. 8, note). It is said of Isis that "she issues her directions for what is and what will

be" (Stèle Metternich, Brugsch, *Dict. Suppl.*, p. 355).

14. See Chap. 1, note 8.

15. . As they are sometimes mentioned before the gods, I believe the word might be translated: the first beings, the first creatures: "die Urwesen."

16. Here begins the second version of the chapter which has been added to the other one.

17. . This lake is often mentioned in the texts of the pyramids. It is one of the celestial lakes not very distant from the Elysian fields.

(*To be continued.*)

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

By PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*, *etc.*

(*Continued from page* 149.)

Light is thrown on the grammatical use of the suffix *m-a* by J. III, 2. Here we first have a word with the accusative termination *-n*, which is composed of ideographs representing "the chief dirk-bearer," and about which I shall have something to say further on. Then comes the name of a locality with its determinative, the name being found again in J. I, 5, Mer'ash 4, &c., and probably meaning "sanctuary." Then comes *Gar-ga-me-is-m-a*,[1] "district," "country," *Khat-ta-n-a-n*, "district" (for the reading of the last name see later). This can only mean "the chief dirk-bearer of . . . in the territory of Carchemish, the Hittite." The phrase is paralleled by that of Tiglath-pileser I (V, 49), "the city of Carchemish in the land of the Hittites." It is worth noting that *mĕ-n* appears, from its determinative in B.M. 2, 3, to denote "city" or "place."

Prof. Jensen has already pointed out that the scourge serves to denote the nominative case and must therefore have expressed a syllable which ended in *-s*. At Mer'ash it replaces in the word "conqueror" (Mer'ash 1 compared with Bor 1), and elsewhere (in lines 2 and 3) it interchanges with the goat's head (*is*), and as an adjectival suffix, from the name of a city, with (*yas*). Hence we must assign to it the values of either *s*, *is*, *yas*, or *as*, and as the first three are already occupied by other signs, I would make it *as*.

The ass's head equally ended in *-s*. This is proved by the title of the king in the first line of the inscription of Babylon, where it forms the suffix of a word which we shall see hereafter was pronounced *arâ* or *Aram*. It also forms the nominative or accusative

[1] Compare the form Mizri-ma quoted above.

plural, *e.g.* in J. III, 5, where we have the plural of the word "gallos-priests" preceded by the demonstrative. In M. 2 as compared with 3 it takes the place of *ya* before *si*, and it very frequently follows *is* or *mis* , the value of which has been long known to us in consequence of its interchanging with *m-s* in J. I, 2 and 3.[1] What sound, then, are we to assign to the ass's head? is it *as*, *yas*, *us* (*mis*), or simply *s*? Provisionally I will make it *s*. In J. IV, 4, 4, however, it must represent the copulative conjunction "and" ("what is below and what is above"), and in J. I, 2, 3 it apparently serves to unite phonetically the two elements of the compound *Sarmis-Arama*, suggesting a value *sa*. It is worth notice that *sê* signified "and" in Lycian.

Another character which is found at the end of the nominative singular and in the inscription from Skanderûn after numerals as a termination of the plural, is . In M. 2 and 3 as compared with H. I, 1 this interchanges with *me-s*. On the other hand, also seems to have the value of *an* or *ani*. According to the squeeze of the Karaburna text, we have in it the varying forms *Si-na-s-m-a-na-is-s*, "belonging to the land of Sinas" (line 1), *Si-na-is-m-a-* *-na-is-s* (line 3), and, in the oblique case, *Si-na-is-m-a-)* (line 2). Here must be *an*. There is also a plural termination in *-n*; thus in H. V, 2 the reduplicated throne and knife have the suffix *n-n*, the reduplication here, as elsewhere, denoting the plural. See also Tyriaion 3 and Skanderûn A 2 (with the plural *kat*(?)*n-n*). The "land of Sinas" must be the Saniana and Sanisênê of classical geography, which adjoined or included Karaburna; see Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 219. Kataonia similarly seems to have taken its name from that of a king Katî mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions.

The clenched fist is *nas*, as is shown by H. II, 2, III, 2 *Khat-ta-nas*, *Khatta-nas*.

[1] Cp. also J. I, 3 with Bab. 3, 4. There are passages, however, in which there can be no question of an initial *m*, so that the in erchange is probably only with *s*. I transcribe the character *is*, but it may be *us*. It represents an altar (or censer) planted on the ground, and it is therefore worth remembering that *iyas-is* signifies a "shrine."

It is possible that the calf's (?) head must be added to the list of characters which terminate in *-s*. In Bor II, 3 it seems natural to read *a-na*(?)-(. .)*s* "king," as the words with which it is coupled are in the nominative, and the final syllable is here denoted by the calf's (?) head. It must be carefully distinguished from the striped head, which represents the phonetic characters *na-a* in the word for "lord" quoted above (Bor 2), and must therefore have been sounded *nâ*. On the bowl, where it is attached to *a-tu*, it may be either . . *s* or . . *ta* (agreeing with *îyas-ta*). In J. II, 1 and the Malatiyeh inscription it is followed by the determinative of "country" in the one case, and of "city" and "district," with the phonetic adjunct *na*, in the other. Here, therefore, it cannot be a mere suffix, but must be used ideographically.

That there should be so many symbols to express syllables ending in *-s* may seem surprising. But the geographical tablet from Boghaz Keui shows that there were two sibilants in Hittite, either of which might represent the termination of the nominative. "The king of Arinna" is written SARR-*us Arinnaz* or *Arinnaś*, and we may conclude that some of the characters given above as terminating in *-s* really terminated in *-ś* or *-z*. One of them is probably . This will explain why *s* (like the ass's head) is at times attached to certain of them as a phonetic complement. The testimony of the Boghaz Keui tablet is supported by the Hittite names given by Ramses II, among which we have not only Targannas and Garbatas, but also Kamiz. Cp. also Rukhasi-na by the side of Rukhizi.

The examples of the word for "lord" quoted above will have made it clear that is *na*. It will be seen that it interchanges with *n-a*. Another instance of the interchange is H. I, 1, and M. 3. The boot is a difficult character to determine. Ideographically it signifies what is "below" (see J. IV, 4, 3), and so "the earth" upon which the priest stands in the symbolic "edicule" at Boghaz Keui; see also Schlumberger's seals, 15, 16, where "the lord of the earth" is the title of the supreme god. For its phonetic use as a suffix we must first turn to the demonstrative pronoun, to which I have more than once referred. Dr. Leopold Messerschmidt has pointed out that the

word *ya-a* with which the two inscriptions of Ivriz begin must be the demonstrative "this." His conclusion has been verified by the inscription of Karaburna, where it is written in the same way.[1] At Hamath (V, 2) we find *ya-m a*, which in another line of the same inscription (3), as well as at Jerablûs (III, 4), appears as . At Hamath (V, 3) we also have *yas-m-a* in the nominative, preceded by the determinative , the place of which is further taken in the same line by the double determinative . The crook alone is used ideographically at the beginning of the Bowl inscription to denote the demonstrative ("this bowl I have made"). The double determinative is employed also before the demonstrative, when the latter is combined with the possessive pronoun *mes* "my," to signify "myself," *ya-me-s* or *ya-mes* (J. I, 1, M. 4). The plural of the demonstrative is represented by *ya-mis* in J. III, 5, on the Bowl and elsewhere.[2]

It is evident that in J. III, 4, the boot must phonetically represent the whole or a part of the two characters between which it stands, or a sound like *u* or *h*, which could be inserted or omitted at will. But it further serves to express the dative case with or without an additional *i*, as in the Bowl inscription, "I have made this bowl for the god Sandan" . For an example of the omission of the vowel *i*, see M. 3, . Followed by *-i-s* the boot is also the ending of the word for "king" in the nominative (*e.g.*, M. 1),[3] and in the Bab. 2 the suffixed is coupled with the suffixed *me-i-n* "mine" (in the accusative). In J. IV, 4, 3 it probably denotes the third person of a verb.

[1] Mr. Anderson's first, and in this respect more correct, copy gave instead of . In the squeeze it is clear.

[2] *Ya-mâ* probably means "in this place," "here." In H. V, 3 it is written DET. *ya-ma-a*, and is preceded by *a-i* (cp. the Bowl inscription); in Bor 3 it is , *ya-ma-a* DET.

[3] Compare the proper name Sanda-sarmis.

Putting all this together, it results that the boot cannot represent a consonant or semi-consonant alone, like *w* or *y*, and that it may be *mi*. But there is much to be said in favour of assigning to it the value of *u* or *e*. Provisionally, however, I will read it *mi*.[1]

It is less difficult to determine the value of ⦶ when used phonetically as a suffix. Ideographically it is the determinative of "locality," as was first divined by Dr. Peiser (see *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 207). It forms along with *a* the third person of a verb (H. I, 3, II, 3), a function in which its place is taken by *m* in Bab. 4, ▭▯ ⦶ ⊥ being there represented by ▭▯ ▭ ⊥. As has been just said, in J. IV, 4, 3 the same suffix appears to be denoted by the boot. Since the two characters ⦶ and ▭ are generally kept distinct in the texts, they can hardly have exactly the same value, in spite of their equivalence; if ▭ is *me* or *m* (or *am*), ⦶ may be *ma*. Provisionally therefore I will call it *ma*.[2]

We can gain no further help from an examination of the characters which denote the suffixes, and I will accordingly return to the method which in the case of the name of Gargamis has been so productive of results. Let us take the Lion of Mer'ash first (M. 1). Mer'ash, as was first pointed out by Mr. Tomkins, is the Marqasi, or Markhasi, of the Assyrian inscriptions, which in the

[1] In the Malatiyeh inscription between the *ya* and *a* of the demonstrative, we find a character which is peculiar to this text, but which also represents in it the suffixes of the genitive of the noun and the first person singular of the verb, and must consequently have the value of *ya* or *i* or *y*. This lends colour to the view that in other Hittite dialects we might have *u* (*w*) in the same place; in this case the boot would be *u*. It can hardly be *yi*. On the other hand, the boot seems to interchange with *m* in the adjective 𓀭 𓄿 𓄿 𓅱 ▭▯ ⊥ ID.-*m-a-s-s-i-s* (Bab. 4) as compared with 𓀭 𓄿 𓄿 𓃀 ⊥ ID.-*mi*(?)-*si-i-s* (Bab. 5). My latest inclination is to make it *e*.

Since the above was written the question has been settled as to the fact that one at least of the phonetic values of the boot was *u*. In And. 2 mention is made of a town ⊥ -*as-s-a* (in the oblique case) as having been either conquered or built, the name being preceded by both ideographs. On my asking Prof. W. M. Ramsay if there was any important city in the neighbourhood of Tyana with a name ending in -*assos*, he writes: "The name suits well the bishopric Euasai or Euaissai, north-west of Kaisariyeh." One of the values to be assigned to the boot will therefore be *u* (*ew*) or (*we*).

[2] In 1881 I suggested that its value was *mo*, Prof. Jensen has made it *m*, but our conclusion was in both cases based on false premises.

time of Sargon was the capital of Gurgum. The lion might possibly have been brought from elsewhere, but another monument seen in the place by Messrs. Hogarth and Munro, and hastily copied by the latter, when compared with the inscription on the lion, goes far to assure us that such is not the case.

Among the titles of the king of Marqasi we should expect to find the name of his capital; and immediately after the word "king," and agreeing with it in the nominative, is an adjectival derivative from a geographical name of three syllables, the third of which is *si*. The same name is found in Mer'ash (XXV Messerschmidt). We may conclude, therefore, that it is the name of Marqasi or Markhasi. The name is written , which I accordingly read *Mar-qa-si-i-s*. *Qa* should more correctly be *gha*, the Assyrian *qa* (and *kha*) being represented by *'a* in the modern Mer'ash. In line 3 the name appears under the form *Mar-qa-si-is-i*. In H. I, 1, the head of a ram on a stand takes the place of two characters, the first of which is , the second, as we shall see hereafter, being *da*.

The name in which the Hamath character is found is, like the name of Carchemish, that of a district, the determinative of "district" being affixed to it and the word "lord" preceding it. In H. II, 1, III, 1, it is written *I-qa-*-a-na*, where the final syllable is the suffix *na-s*, in the genitive after the word "lord." What can be the value of the third character? There are only two names in the neighbourhood of Hamath that will suit the beginning of the name: these are Yakhanu and Igada. In the travels of the Mohar "the land of Igadâi" is placed between Aleppo and Kadesh, near the lake of Homs, and in the vicinity of Aupa, the Ubi of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which extended from Aleppo southward to Damascus. In the Arzawa letter "the land of Eigaid" is mentioned in connection, it would seem, with the Hittites (*Proc. S.B.A.*, 1897, p. 283). Accordingly I read the title of the Hamath prince, *I-qa-da-a-na* or *I-gha-da-a-na*, being *qa* or *gha*, and *da*.[1]

[1] Written in the Cilician texts, as appears to result from a comparison of the way in which the word for "king" is written. At the same time the equivalence of the two signs is not absolutely certain, and on the bowl seems to be distinguished from . Yakhanu was the district in which Aleppo was situated, but we already have so many characters representing the nasal, that it is unlikely there should be another which never interchanges with them; hence I reject Yakhanu in favour of Igada.

Now is the Hittite word for "king," as was first shown by Prof. Jensen. The true reading of it is *a-da*, not *eri*, as I suggested in the *Proc. S.B.A.* 1899, p. 220, on insufficient grounds. Perhaps we may find a relation to it in the compound Lydian word *koal-adein* (corrected from the *koal-ddein* of the MSS.), which is given by the side of *palmys* as the term for "king." *Palmys* claims connection with the Trojan *perramos* or *priamos*, Phrygian *balên*, all being forms of a stem *gwal*, which we have in the Karian *gela* or *gelan*, and the first element in *koal-adein*. Possibly the Lycian *khidä* is a contracted form of the latter. Ada was the name of a Karian queen, and Τικου-αδειν is a proper name in an Isaurian inscription copied by Prof. Sterrett at Armassun. Cp. also the name of the Pisidian town Adada. The ancient Cilician city Adana, which gave its name to the god Adanos, and was built on the Saros or "King" river, would thus be Ada-na, "the royal" town. Another Adana, now Dana, was situated in the territory of the Khattinâ, between Aleppo and Antioch.[1]

The first title assumed by the king of the Bor inscription is , which we can now read *Da-a-na-a-na-s* + DET., "district of Danâ." As Bor is the ancient Tyana, we should expect Tyana to be meant, and the Dana of Xenophon is generally assumed to be that city. Dâna is already mentioned, along with Qarnê, Kullania, Arpad and Iśana, and the Cappadocian land of Kusa, in an Assyrian letter (II, 80–7–19, 26), first brought to light by Dr. Pinches (*Proc. S.B.A.*, 1881, p. 10). The native pronunciation of the name, however, was Tuana, or Twana, so that at Bor itself the ideograph must have been sounded *tu*.[2]

[1] At Tyana the character *da* had the value of *tu* or *tev*; hence *atu* or *atua* would have been a variant pronunciation of *ada*. This might throw light on the signification of the divine name Attys. Cp. the name of Eta-kama, written also Aida-gama.

[2] The value *tu* enables us to read the name of the prince mentioned in the inscription from Babylon. The first and third characters composing it are the same, and are given as *tu* by D. Koldewey, whose copy is verified by the photograph. On the second occasion the oblique wedge is attached to the sign, indicating an abbreviation or a modification of the vowel. As the second character is one of those human heads most of which interchange with *a*, we shall have the name Tuates, written Teuwatti in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, Τεάττης in Greek inscriptions. The Vannic king Argistis calls the country of the Hittites, which included Malatiyeh, "the land of the son of Tuates." With as *tu* or *te* it is tempting to read in H. I, 1, &c., as A-ma-tu, but the initial vowel is against it.

On the other hand, there is an inscription on a seal belonging to M. de Clercq which, like that taken from Lajard in Wright's *Empire of the Hittites*, has a representation of Pegasus, the winged horse of the Alêian, or Alasian plain. The inscription consists of the two characters , which must be read Da-s rather than Tuas or Tus, a contracted form of the common Cappadocian and Cilician name Dadas, as Bas is of Babas, Mas of Mamas, Nas of Nanas, and Las of Lalas.[1] Lalas, it may be observed, is identical with the name of the Melitenian king Lalli or Lalla, and probably meant "the giver," from *lal*, "to send," "or give."

I was altogether wrong in identifying the second title of the Bor king with the name of Tyana (*Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 208), as well as with the ideograph which forms the first (or second?) element in the name of the inhabitant of the district mentioned at the end of H. II, 3. The two characters are formed in different ways, and the one which occurs at Hamath is the same as that which appears as in J. III, 3, 5. On the other hand or or is the ideograph which is found in H. V, 4, 5, J. I, 2, 5, and Kirsh-oghlu 1. In B.M. 4, as in H. V, 5, and Palanga 4, it has the phonetic complement *al* attached to it, and a comparison of J. I, 2, 5 with J. III, 3 (see also J. III, 5) shows that it represents the word *gal* or *gallina* "priest." Hence it is that we find it in Izgin D. 9, where the name af Tyana is out of the question, and where it follows the title *a-mi*(?)-*ra-m-a-*(*na*), also found in J. I, 5 and Messerschmid XV, B, 2, and is followed itself by the word "knife-bearer." In B.M. 1 it is coupled with the territorial adjective *Sandanyas* to which the determinative of city is attached, the passage reading *a-na-me-i San*(*da*)-*da-n*-YA-*ya-s*-DET. *galli-na-s San*(*da*)-*da-a*(*t*)-*ti-s* ID.-*na*-NA-*a-ya-s A*(*m*)-*m-ar-a-si-s ada-mi*(?) . . . *mi*(?)-*i-s galli-na-s*, "I (am) the prince, the priest of the city of Sandan (Kybistra or Herakleia), Sandattes, the lordly, of the family of Amris, the priestly . . . king." Here *Sandanyas*-DET. *galli-nas* exactly corresponds with *Gargamesi-yas*-DET. *galli-nas* in J. III, 3. Similarly in B.M. 3 we have *ana-me-mi*(?) *galli-na-mi*, "the royal, the priestly," like *ana-me-i-yas* ID.-*mi*(?)-*yas*, "the royal, the powerful" in M I, 4.

The ideograph recurs with the affix of plurality in the name of the father of the Mer'ash king, of which it forms the first element.

[1] Cp. also the names Thouas and Thoas.

The second element is the ideograph which I have supposed to denote "Hittite," though its phonetic value seems to have been *gas*. The name would accordingly read Gali-Khatti or Kali-Khatti, which reminds us on the one side of Kali-Tesub king of Kummukh, in the age of Tiglath-pileser I, and on the other of Us-Khitti, king of Atuna, eastward of Malatiyeh, in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. We know from the name of Khatu-sar or Khattu-sar as well as from that of Ilu-khitê of Subrê, conquered by Assur-nasir-pal, that Khattu, the Hittite people, was deified like other tribes and cities in the Hittite region.

A-da or *a-tu* "king," has the ideograph attached to it in J. III, 3; in Bor 4 takes its place, and elsewhere or is used alone, frequently with the suffix *mi*(?)-*i-s*.[1] In J. III, 3 we have *yas*, instead of *is*. A synonym of *ada* is *a-na*, which is also written (so on the bowl and at Bor). The last form is found at the beginning of the Bulgar Maden inscription, where it immediately precedes (*a*)-*me-i*, "I (am)," thus occupying the same place as in J. II, 1. The latter is composed of one of the variants of the ideographs which denote a person, and of a dirk in its sheath, which assumes a scimetar-like form at Malatiyeh. It must accordingly signify a "dirk-bearer" or "warrior," and the meaning of will be much the same.[2] The striped head seems to be that of a hyæna.

In J. II, 7 is coupled with the word "lord," and I would give it the general signification of "prince." As we have seen, the striped head is the phonetic equivalent of *n-a*. With *ana* "prince" we may compare the Lycian *eni* "lord."[3]

[1] Contracted into *mi*(?)-*s* in Bor 1. In the title *ana-me-yas*, which is coupled with the word meaning "powerful" (M. 3, &c.) and interchanges with *a-na*-DET., in J. II, 8 it is lengthened into *-meyas* (and *-meiyas*). In H. IV, 1, the doll takes the place of the head.

[2] Mr. Rylands has pointed out to me that a symbolical dirk is engraved on the wall of the passage which leads into the great court of procession at Boghaz Keui and adjoins the bas-relief of the god Attys and his priest. The sheath is composed of four lions, while the handle of the dirk is the head of the god.

[3] Other similarities with Lycian are to be found in *ame* "I" and the Arzawa

As stated in the *Proc. S.B.A.*, I have returned to my original explanation of the word *a-me* or *a-me-i*, which has been accepted by all other students of the Hittite texts. It is certainly "I," or "I (am)." Sometimes it is preceded by the determinative which interchanges with the doll in H. V, 2 as compared with H. II, 2. The boss of Tarkondemos, as I have pointed out in *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, pp. 204, 205, indicates that at the end of a sentence the first personal pronoun could be attached as an enclitic to the preceding word, losing its initial vowel and causing the word to which it is attached to drop its case-ending and become a sort of verbal noun. This explains the forms in J. II, 2, 8, where we have *a-na-me-i* "a prince (am) I," and *a-na* IDEOGRAPH-*mi*(?)-*me-i* "a prince powerful (am) I."[1]

Amei appears with and without its determinative, which in Izgin A 1 takes the place of *a* and is followed immediately by *me*. The determinative could thus have the phonetic value of *a*. Now in the Hamath inscriptions (II, 2, III, 2, V, 2) it forms the first syllable of the name of a city the second syllable of which consists of the couch . The name is preceded by the word "city," for which see *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 204,[2] and is followed in II, 2, III, 2 by two other characters and the determinative of "place," while in V, 2 we find after it the determinative of place, which here appears to have its phonetic value of *ma*, and a character which may be intended for the determinative of "city," but has the same form as a character which is found in Bulgar Maden 1, where it represents a syllable in a royal name, as well as in one of the Jerablûs inscriptions (Messerschmidt, XV, B 1). In the last instance it is preceded by the ideograph of "country" and the syllable *Khat*, and followed

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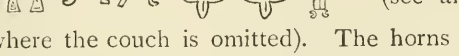
mi, "mine," if Torp (Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XXVI, 4, pp. 292 *sq.*) is right in making the Lycian *amu* "I" and *emi*, *emis* "mine." He would further make *-u* the suffix of the first person singular of the present, *-ti* being the third. Thomsen (*Études lyciennes*, I, p. 21) gives *lati* the meaning of "he dies."

[1] For the oblique case *ama* "of (?) me" (H. IV, 4) see below.

[2] Prof. Jensen had already perceived that is a non-phonetic determinative or ideograph. Indeed the fact is made clear by a comparison of a word like in a Jerablûs fragment (Messerschmidt, XV, A 3) with the ordinary form *i-yas-i-ta* (H. I, 3, &c).

by the suffix (*is*)-*i-s*. As the word denoted is *Khat-ti-i-s* "Hittite," it must here have the value of *ti*.

The group of characters in H. V, 2 will therefore read: *A-mat* (or *ma*)-*ma* (or determinative of "place") -*ti*, where the couch must represent the syllable *ma* or *mat*, which is further (probably) phonetically expressed by *ma-ti*. In other words the city over which the Hamathite king rules is Hamath. The conclusion is verified by the fact that it is the only name of a city occurring in all the Hamathite inscriptions, and is not found in any other. In the Assyrian inscriptions the name of Hamath is similarly written Amatti, and since it is also Amâtu in the geographical list of Thothmes III (No. 122),[1] the initial aspirate of חמת must be due to the assimilation of the name to the Semitic word for "wall."[2]

The name of Hamath may perhaps be also detected under two other forms. In H. V, 1, according to Mr. Mocatta's casts, the Hamathite prince calls himself not "king of A-ma-ti," but "king of the city of  " (see also line 4, and H. IV, 3, where the couch is omitted). The horns remind us of the city of Qarnê in northern Syria, but it is more probable that Hamath is meant. We learn from the Arzawa letters that -*d* or -*t* was a plural termination, and it is therefore possible that the couch with the ideograph of plurality was pronounced *mat*. At all events the duplication of the character which follows the ideograph of "horns" must denote plurality, and represent in some way part of the phonetic spelling of "Amatti." In H. IV, 3, where the name is written twice, the duplication of the character is omitted in the first instance. It would seem, accordingly, that the character in question represented some syllable or syllables of the name *Amatti*.[3]

[1] Tomkins, in the *Trans. S.B.A.*, IX, p. 231, and Maspero, "Struggle of the Nations," p. 142. Ramses III also writes Amâta at Medînet Habu.

[2] The two characters which follow *A-ma* in H. II, 2, III, 2 are

which recur in H. V, 2 followed by *a-s*. The first, the mason's square, is found in J. III, 2 with the determinative of power or action and with the possible meaning of "building." In H. II, 2 and III, 2, I would conjecturally assign to it the value of *at* and to the branch the value of *ti* or *tu* or *ta*, the whole word reading *A-ma-at-ti*. But it may be *A-ma-*(*amat*)-*ti*.

[3] In H. IV, 1, 2 the character forms the first element in a name which follows the adjective "powerful," and is itself followed by the syllables *ma*, *ta*, and *ya*. Then comes the suffix *ma-a* "in the land." We may consequently read *Am-ma-ta-ya-ma-a* ("powerful) in the land of Hamath."

The second form of the name to which I have alluded is more doubtful. In H. IV, 4 we read DET.-*na-s* (*ana-s*) . The last word, without the adjectival suffix *-mis*, is found again in the Skanderun inscription A 1, 2, B 4, where the first character has the form of the human profile *a*, and is followed by the "phonetic complement" *ṃ-m-a* (*ammá*), indicating that the peculiar ideograph is to be read *amma*. In H. IV, 4 this ideograph has the oblique wedge attached to it, denoting an abbreviation, and we may therefore supply *ti*. This would give us *a-mma-(ti)-mis*, and we should have the phrase *anas ammati-mis* "the Hamathite god." The phrase, it will be observed, is followed by an oblique case of the first personal pronoun, with honorific adjectives in agreement with it: *a-ma-a ana-me-ya* ID.-*ya*, "of (?) me the kingly, the mighty." Was the phonetic value of the couch *mat* or *ma*, or was it ideographically *mat* and phonetically *ma*? To answer this question we must turn to the Malatiyeh text. Here we find three geographical titles, the first two of which are also assumed by the Carchemish kings. It is therefore probable that it is the third of them which represents the name of Malatiyeh. This is expressed by the couch, followed by , which could have the value of *lad* or *lid*, and the genitive suffix *i*. If the identification is right, the couch will be *ma*.

That it is right is shown by the Mer'ash lion, line 2. Here the name of Marghasi, or Mer'ash, which we have found in the first line, occurs twice with a variant orthography. Once it seems to be written which we must consequently transliterate *Ma-ar-gha-si-s*, and once *Ma-ar-gha-sis* (?).

The first of these instances, if correct,[1] suggests that is *ar* and not *mar*, and that the doubt as to the accuracy of the copy of M. II is therefore justified. In M. I, 3 the character takes the form of , and is thus identical in shape with the third character in the name of the deity of Hamath. The latter consequently will read *Am-ma-ar-mi* (?)-*is*, "the Amorite," *-mis* being, as elsewhere, the adjectival suffix. It is, at least, noticeable that a common name

[1] Unfortunately the stone is damaged, and the character may be .

of the supreme Syrian god Hadad on the Babylonian and Assyrian monuments is similarly Amurru "the Amorite."

The same character *ar* also forms the first element in the name of the district mentioned in H. II, 2, the second, third, and fourth being *ga*, *a*, and *na*. The whole is accordingly Argâna, which is stated by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser II (W.A.I. III, 8, 88) to be a "royal city" of Hamath.[1] *Ar-ga-a-na-(n)as-ma-a* with the determinative of "district"—"in the district of Argâna"—corresponds exactly with *Gar-ga-me-is-m-a* DET. (J. III, 2)—"in the district of Carchemish"—and confirms the value attached to the first character.

In the Hamath inscriptions we have another geographical name, which, as far back as 1884, I suspected to be that of the Hittites. For reasons given in the *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 211, the suspicion has been confirmed by subsequent discoveries, and is now verified by the decipherment of J. III, 2 given above (*Gargamis-mâ Khattanan*). The word is written [illegible] and [illegible], with the suffixes *-i-s* and *-nas*. The symbol of "water" [illegible] will thus represent ideographically *Khatta* and *Khat*, while [illegible] will be *ta* (not *tan* or *tu* as I formerly conjectured).[2] Another ideograph for "Hittite," as I long ago suggested, may be the numeral III, which has the oblique wedge attached to it when written contractedly without its suffixes. In J. III, 3, and I, 1 the suffixes are expressed and the oblique line is accordingly unused. It must be confessed, however, that III never interchanges with *Khat-ta*. On the other

[1] The identification with Argana is preferable to that with Irqana-ta, which sent a contingent to the help of the Hamathite king in his war with Shalmaneser, as this was on the coast of the Gulf of Antioch between Arvad and Cilicia. Irqana-ta can hardly be the Irqatu of the Tel el-Amarna letters, the "Arkite" of the Old Testament, but is rather the Arkan and Arka (or Alkan and Alka) of the geographical lists of Thothmes III and Ramses III. In one of his Syrian campaigns Thothmes III, after destroying the "city of the land of Arqantu" and the cities of [Ar]kana, arrived at Tunip, now Tennib, north-east of Aleppo. The district is called Yaraqu by the Assyrian kings; in the time of Assur-nazir-pal it was included in the kingdom of the Khattinâ; a hundred years later it was a district of Hamath.

[2] At first sight it might seem that the symbol of "water" would naturally denote Naharaim, or Nahrina, and since, as we shall see, it actually has the phonetic value of *na*, we could read Na-ri, or Na-ari (as in Assyrian), instead of Khat-ta. But in the first place Carchemish was in "the land of the Hittites" and not in Nahrina, and secondly the repeated use of the name on the obelisk of Izgin and at Mer'ash (Messerschmidt, XXV), absolutely excludes Naharaim.

hand it is an epithet of the Cilician god Sandan in H. V, 3, and on a seal purchased at Bor (Messerschmidt, XLII, 5) we have ID. (of deity), DET. (of deity), ID. *m(e)* [illegible], "Ana-* (am) I, the . . . ." The proper name is parallel to that of Ilu-khittê, and the locality from which the seal comes would lead us to think of "Cilician" rather than of "Hittite." The same geographical title is met with in Phrygia at Baikoï (Messerschmidt, XXXVI, A, 2). In J. I, 1, 2, and Malatiyeh, however, the ideograph representing the name of a country is not the numeral III, but the picture of a house. In J. III, 3, where we have the ideograph of "a double city" as in And. 2, perhaps the translation is: "the Cilician king from the twofold city." But we must remember that III seems to have the phonetic value of *gas* or *kas*; possibly therefore the name of the Hittite tribe of the Kaskâ is really denoted by it. At all events it is the second territorial title of the priest-king of Carchemish in J. II, 1.

Besides its ideographic value [illegible], as we have already seen, had the phonetic value of *na* (or *n̮*), as is proved by Bab. 1, where it takes the place of the suffix [illegible]. The origin of this value can be easily explained. I have long since noted (*Recueil de Travaux*, XIV, p. 53) that in J. II, 4, 5, [illegible] must mean "god(s)," as it is conjoined with the numeral 9, the first passage reading ideographically "beloved of the mighty 9 god(s)," in reference to a former line (2) where we read, also ideographically, "the god . . me the supreme head of the 9." The cities of the "nine" are further mentioned at Gurun (line 5). The ideograph of "god" has the phonetic complement *na* or *n* often added to it (*e.g.*, J. I, 1, M. 3). It therefore represented a word which ended in *na*, and as in the inscription from Babylon the ideograph of "god" follows the vowel *a* and takes the place of the suffix *na*, it is evident that the word in question was *ana*.[1] It is noteworthy that in Mitannian *ene* was "god."[2]

[1] In Palanga 3 the ideograph of "god" is followed by *na* and [illegible], which must represent the [illegible] of the southern inscriptions. This is more probably to be read (*a*)*na*, "god," than Nana, the Sun-god. Ana(s) was a Cilician god (Six: *Numismatic Chron.*, 3rd ser., IV, p. 106).

[2] It is worth noticing that in the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites, "rivers of the land of the Hittites" are divinities like the Sun-god or Amon. The river Sangarios is said to have been the father of Attys by the Dindymenian mother, and the Sangarios has a Hittite connection. Prof. Ramsay discovered a

The goddess of Carchemish was . The bird seems to be non-phonetic; at all events it is merely the symbol of the deity, as we may infer from the fact that it accompanies the representations of her at Fraktin and Mer'ash (see Ramsay and Hogarth in the *Recueil de Travaux*, XIV, p. 90), and is omitted in B.M. 5. An image of the goddess is now in the British Museum; she stands upon the water and carries in one hand the implement , and in the other the hieroglyphs , that is to say, "the goddess of the sky" (or "the goddess supreme"). The same characters accompany her name at Fraktin. She is the mother-goddess of Asianic religion, worshipped under different names at different sanctuaries, as Ma at Komana, as Kybelê at Pessinous, as Paramênê, "the mother of the gods," according to Hesychius, in Lydia. In northern Syria she was identified with Istar, or Ashtoreth, and known specifically as 'Ati. Hence in the later Semitic days, when Mabog had succeeded to Carchemish, the goddess of the "Sacred City" was addressed by the compound title of Atar-gatis, or Derketo, the Athtar-'Ati of the Semites.

Her name is naturally found in the Hittite inscriptions of Carchemish, and we have now to discover, if possible, how it was pronounced there. It formed part, as we shall see, of that of the king to whom the second Jerablûs inscription belongs, and as the ideograph of "loved by" which forms the second element in the name, terminates in the suffix *-me*, we are reminded of the Hittite name Sapa-lulme, written Subbi-luliuma in the Tell el-Amarna tablets. If I am right, however, in identifying Saba, Sabazios, with Sapa, the latter will be a god and not a goddess.

But was the divine patroness, not of Carchemish only, but of a locality in Asia Minor as well. In the Karaburna inscription, ll. 2, 3, she has the title of X-*qa-na*[1] (-DET.-*mis-yas*), and is the name of a country mentioned in the Bor inscription (l. 2) (where the king of Tyana is called "the lord" of

Hittite inscription at Kölitolu Yaila, about twelve miles from Ilgin the ancient Tyriaion, and the name of the river reappears in the S'agura, or S'angura, now the Sajur, which flows into the Euphrates a little to the south of Carchemish, as well as in another S'agura mentioned by Assur-nazir-pal in the land of the Khattinâ. S'angara or S'agara was a king of Carchemish.

[1] The striped animal's head is drawn in a similar way at Mer'ash.

it) as well as in M. I. In Mer'ash I the ideograph of "country" is attached to the name; at Bor this is replaced by ⦶, which, however, Messerschmidt makes *n*.[1]

What country was there adjoining Tyana and Mer'ash sufficiently important for a goddess to be called after it, and the name of which ended in *-qa*? I can think of no other but Cilicia, the Khilakki and Khilukki of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Qalqish of Egyptian writers. In this case [illegible] will have the value of *khila*, or *khilak*, and the local name of the goddess of Carchemish will have been Khila.

In the Vannic inscriptions two kings of Melitênê are mentioned of the name of Khila-ruadas. The second part of the compound appears as *rundas* and *ruda(s)* in the name of Garpa-runda(s) and Garpa-ruda(s), Girpa-ruda(s), borne by kings of Gur-gum and the Khattinâ in the 9th century B.C. As the Vannic character which more usually stands for *la* may also be read *te*, I have of late years exchanged my earlier reading Khila-ruadas for Khite-ruadas, induced thereto by the names of Ilu-khite of Subria and Us-khitti of Tunâ. But in the last name, *khitti* forms the second element in the compound, and therefore may not be the name of a god at all, and, in any case, the more natural reading of the Vannic characters would be Khila-ruadas, where the name of the deity Khila takes the place of Garpa or Girpa in Garpa-rundas. In the Greek inscriptions of Isauria, Prof. Sterrett found the names Κίλα and Ἴλλας, as well as the female Καλυγ-κίλλη.[2]

It would seem from M. 1, where the oblique line is drawn after *khila*, separating it from a second *khila* which is followed by *qa-a-na-i-s* and the determinative of "country," that [illegible] might be used ideographically for *khilak* or *khilaqas*. Was it interpreted "the Cilician," or was Cilicia named after the goddess? We must not forget that a neighbouring town to Carchemish, Aleppo, was called Khili-p by the Egyptians, Khalman by the Assyrians (where we probably have the Hittite suffixes *ma-na*), and that it stood on the Khalus, which again reminds us that the kingdom of Melitênê was known to the Assyrians as "Khali the Greater."[3]

The character [illegible] is combined with [illegible] in the inscription of

[1] A re-examination of the photograph has convinced me that he is right.

[2] Cp. the name of the Kaly-kadnos, and with the latter that of Qadnu, associated with Mannus or Mallos by Seti I.

[3] Is Khalman "the (town) of the goddess Khila"? Khal-kis (now Qinnesrîn) rebuilt by Seleucus N[illegible] or stood near the mouth of the Khalus. I am bound to

Malatiyeh, so as to form a compound character which enters into the name of a place, the first syllable of which is represented by what looks like the couch *ma*. As I have already noticed, the name would naturally read *Ma-lat-ya*.

I can speak more positively about another geographical name which is represented by a bull's head, and is found in the inscriptions of Carchemish and Mer'ash. Sometimes it is preceded by *a* (J. I, 2, III, 2), sometimes followed by it (M. 2, 3), and once it is followed by *me* (J. I, 2). The name must be that of the Aramæans—Arime, Arumu, and Aramu in Assyrian—who adjoined both Gurgum and Carchemish. I had at first thought of Aramê, the son of Agusi, in the 9th century B.C., whose kingdom of Yakhanu, or Akhanu, lay between Carchemish and the Khattinâ, and included Aleppo and probably Arpad.[1] But the territory of Aramê is excluded by the mention of the name at Mer'ash. The name occurs in the following combinations: J. I, 2, *sar-mis A-ra-me-yas* DET., "the Aramæan king"; J. I, 3, *Sar-mi-s-s(a) Aram-m-a*, "the king of Aram"; M. 2, *Aram-a-s-* ID.*-si-s*; M. 3, ID.*-n-a-s Aram-a-ya-si-ś* ID., "lord of the Aramæans." The ideograph is here the knife, one of whose values accordingly would seem to be *assi*, or *si*, or *asis*.[2]

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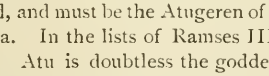
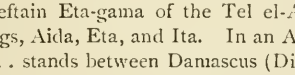
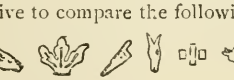
say, however, that a phonetic complement *-m* is so often attached to the name of the goddess, as to make me question whether it did not really terminate in that sound, in which case we should have to look for some other name than Khila. Thus on a fragment from Carchemish (Messerschmidt, XII, 4) we have (*Khila*)-*m-ma-yas*, and "the god (*Khila*)-*m-a*," mentioned in B.M. 5, evidently forms the first part of the compound name (*Khila*)-*me-a-sar*, which is found on a seal now in the Ashmolean Museum.

[1] On the Black Obelisk (l. 86) Arnê is said to be the capital of Aramê. This is probably a mistake for Qarnê, which was in the same part of the world. In the Assyrian letter (II, 80–7–19, 26) already referred to, Qarnê is associated with Danâ and Arpad, and must be the Atugeren of the geographical list of Thothmes III in northern Syria. In the lists of Ramses III Atugeren is divided into two towns Karna and Atu. Atu is doubtless the goddess 'Ati, whose name is found in that of the Hittite chieftain Eta-gama of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, where we have the various spellings, Aida, Eta, and Ita. In an Assyrian revenue-list (W.A.I. II, 53, 36) Qar-ni-ni . . stands between Damascus (Dimasqa) and Hamath (Khamat).

[2] It is instructive to compare the following forms: —

M. 2.  *aram-a-as-SI-si-is.*

Bab. 4.  ID.*-m-a-as-s-i-s.*

Bab. 5.  ID.*-mi* (?)*-si-i-s.*

It is possible that another ideograph possesses the same or an allied value. This is (A.M. 2) or (J. III, 3), which appears under various forms elsewhere (J. I, 5, II, 2). In J. II, 2 the phonetic complement *-me* is attached to it. It here denotes the name of a god, the determinative of divinity being attached to it: in J. III, 3, on the other hand, it is a title. In J. I, 5, with the suffix *-mis*, it takes the place of *sarmis* "king," and precedes Aramâ; in the Agrak inscription it is also a title following the proper name. In B.M. 2 it follows the word "king," with the suffixes *-a-mes-ya* and the determinatives of plurality and locality. Here the natural interpretation would be: "the king of kings" or "kingdoms." So too in Bab. 2 the context would suggest some such meaning as, "Sandan the protector of my sovereignty has given me my royal city, my . . . . and my sovereignty." In the Agrak text the title replaces the "dirk-bearer (and) conqueror" of the Bor and Mer'ash inscriptions.

As the title denotes the name of a deity in J. II, 2, so there is another ideograph which also expresses the name of a deity in J. III, 1, 5 and H. IV, 1, though elsewhere it is used as a common noun. This is which seems to represent a breastplate or shield.[1] In J. I, 5, with the suffix *-na*, it follows the adjective "powerful," thus occupying the same place as *Khilagh-gha* in one of the Mer'ash texts (Messerschmidt, XXV, 2). In Bor 2, with the termination *-nes*, it is apparently a title parallel with "lord." Its phonetic value may be arrived at in the following way. (1) In the Kirsh-oghlu inscription, line 2, it comes between the phonetic complement *ga-* and the suffix *-s*, at Mer'ash (Messerschmidt, XXV, 4) it is followed by *ga-tu*, and in the Skanderûn text (Messerschmidt, VIII, A3) by the ideograph

I am bound to add, however, that the bull's head, with or without *a*, signifies "city" (*e.g.*, J. III, 4), and interchanges with which is sometimes attached to it as in J. I, 2 (*a-ra*-RA-*me-yas* DET.), and, since *-meyas*, *ma*, may be a suffix, *sarmis-arameyas* and *sarmes-aramâ* might signify "the king of the city," and thus be the equivalent of the Semitic *melech-kiryath*, or Melkarth. In this case "the temple of Sarmes-arameyas" in J. I would refer to the temple of the chief god. In Bab. 1, *a-ra-s* DET. "of the city" is perhaps more probable than *a-ram-as* "the Aramean." The pronunciation of *sarmes* is given us in the name of Sanda-sarmes on one of the Schlumberger seals (No. 6): in J. I, 3 and 5 we have two variants of the word: *sar-mĕ-s* and *sarm* (?)-*is*.

[1] The god of Hierapolis or Mabug wore a breast-plate, according to Macrobius (*Sat.* I, 17).

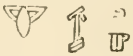
of plurality and the characters *ga* (#) *n -n*. (2) The second character in the last word occurs again in the Bulgar Maden inscription 5 according to Messerschmidt's corrected copy of the text, where we read: DETERMINATIVE OF DEITY *na-ga-tu* (#) *mâ-s-m-a-n* DETERMINATIVE OF CITY, "the city (*ma-n*) of the god Nagatu-mâs," a name which reminds us of Nagidos. It is obvious from this that (#) has the value of *gat* or *kat*.[1] It is further obvious that [5] must be *gaten* or *katen*.

Doubt, however, is cast upon the combination, which depends on the correctness of the copy of the Skanderûn text, by the fact that in B.M. 2 the plural *ga-tu-mis-i-yas* (where the plural suffix *mis* is perhaps not intended to be pronounced, *íyas* being its phonetic equivalent) is followed by [=] with the affix of plurality and the determinative either of the "sacred stone" or of a "district." If the latter determinative is correct, have we here the name of Kata-onia?

The inscription of Karaburna begins with the words [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6]. *Ya-a* is "this," *-ya* the first person of a verb. The meaning consequently must be: "This tablet (or inscription) I have written," and [4] will be the picture of a tablet. The verb may be read either *na-nas-ya* or *nas-ya*, or the two first characters

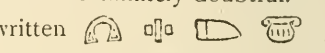
[1] In the Kirsh-oghlu inscription the country called that of the Khattinâ by the Assyrians is entitled [1] (#) [2]. I have sometimes thought that the first character may be a variant of the *gar* (or *kha*?) of the Aleppo text, though the actual variant of the latter is more probably [2] (J. III, 4, as we must read according to the original after *sunna*(?)-*mi* (?)). At all events the Kirsh-oghlu name is parallel to the Mer'ash name [1] [2] [3] (Messerschmidt, XXII). The phonetic value of [2] seems to be *ga-s* according to B.M. 4, *ga-ta* (?) according to the Bowl, where unfortunately the second character is uncertain; at all events it is not *s*. Qadi was the Egyptian name of the district in which the land of the Khatinâ was situated, and the name read Kelekish by Dr. W. Max Müller, and identified by him with Cilicia, is by many Egyptologists read Qarqish, and identified with the Kaskâ of the Assyrian monuments. Cp. the Biblical Girgashites.

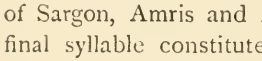
As [2] is ideographically *Khatta*, it is also possible to make (#) *atu*, or *at*, instead of *gatu*, and to read at Kirsh-oghlu and Mer'ash Kha-at(u)-nas, "Hittite," and *Kha-(kha)tta-ya*. In this case [5] will be *atun*.

may form a compound reading *anas*. At any rate the signification of the phrase is clear. It is followed by the words: "The ruler of the city of . . ., Sinas the king of the land of Sinas . . . (am) I." The same phrase is found in the Hamath texts. There also we have  "I have written the inscription" in H. I, 2; in H. II and III the ideograph is omitted.

In all three cases the phrase is followed by the names of two countries (as is shown by their determinatives), the second of which is *Khattais* and *Khattanas*, "the Hittite." The first reads *Mĕ-ta-a-na-s* in H. I; this is followed by *Khattais*. Here we have the name of Mitanni, the translation being probably "a Mitannian (and) Hittite."

In H. II and III *Khat-ta-i-s* is replaced by *Khatta-nas*, the ideograph of "inscription" is omitted, and instead of *Metânas* we have *Argâna-(n)as-mâ*, "in the land of Argâna," and *Mâ-?-na-m-a-na-nas*, where the second character is unfortunately doubtful.[1]

The name of the Bor king is written  *A-m-ar-a-s*. The oblique line is always drawn after the first character, indicating that it is used ideographically and constitutes a separate element in the name. It may therefore represent the name of the Cilician god *A* or *Ia*, on whom see Sachau in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, VII, p. 89. The second character is *m* or *am*. The third, as we have seen, is *ar*. We thus get the name A-maras, in which I believe we must see the name of the great Cilician and Tibarenian king who is called, in the inscriptions of Sargon, Amris and Ambarisa (*i.e.*, Ambris). The vowel of the final syllable constitutes the only difficulty in the identification: but Ivriz, which according to local tradition derived its name from an ancient king Abrus, and where king Amaras has sculptured a likeness of himself, is certainly in favour of it.

The place-name attached to the figure of the god is written  It thus begins with *Ta*, and, as it consists of three letters, suggests the name of the Tabala or Tubal, who have left a record of themselves in the neighbouring city of Kas-

[1] It looks like *s*, and the analogy of the Karaburna inscription would lead us to read *Mâ-s-na-m-a-na-(n)as*, and render "of the land of Mâsna," a man's name. Or perhaps we have the accusative of the word for "inscription," the name of the country being Mâna.

tabala. Now Amris was a Tabal chief to whom Sargon gave the kingdom of Cilicia, and it is therefore worth notice that Amaras is here called the *a-tu* or "king of Ta . . . ." The outstretched hand evidently means "to give" in J. II, 3 (see *Recueil de Travaux*, XV, p. 26), and "to give," in the language of Arzawa, was *lal*. If it had the phonetic value of *la*, the leg would be *ba*.

But the leg is found by itself used ideographically to denote a royal or priestly title. The Malatiyeh king is called , so also is the king on the Obelisk of Izgin (A 1, 3). The obelisk comes from Albistân, near the old Arabissos, in the territory of the Tabalâ, which adjoined that of Milid. At Carchemish the leg is coupled with the place name (J. III, 2), which is found also in J. I, 5 with the phonetic complement *-a*, as well as at Mer'ash (4, *Front*, 1, 2), where it is associated with the ideograph of "city," and, as at Carchemish, with the word "gods." [1]

The name of the city over which the Izgin king ruled, and which is therefore presumably Arabissos, is expressed by the ideograph (A 1, 3, B 2, 19).[2] In A 3 it is said to be "in the land of the Hittites" (DET. *Khatta-ya-m-a*), and there follows the name of "a city," to which the determinative of "district" is attached, which consists of three very unusual characters, the second of them being the horse's head (cp. M. *Front*, 3). Here, possibly, was the land of Togarmah (Ezek. xxvii, 14). The city of Arabissos (?) seems to be called the city of Sandan (C 19, D 1).

We will now return to the Hamath texts. A reference to the position of H. IV and H. V on the original stone, when compared with the arrangement of the columns on the Izgin Obelisk, would lead us to infer that the first three lines of H. V were read consecutively, and were followed by the four lines of H. IV. The last two lines of V form a supplement which must have been added after the completion of the main text. Now in IV 1, 2 we have, "in the land

[1] The leg also occurs as a title in Bab. 5. And the use of in And. 4 and B.M. 4 inclines me to believe that this latter ideograph meant a "sanctuary." The leg is associated with the word "dirk-bearer" at Malatiyeh as at Carchemish, and the double leg, with the ideograph of plurality, in J. III, 4, corresponds with the word (*galli-*)*s* with the determinative of "priests" in line 5.

[2] It is the figure of the caduceus, held for instance by the Phrygian god in the bas-relief, accompanied by Hittite hieroglyphs, discovered by Prof. Ramsay and published by him in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, III, Pl. XXIB.

of the Amorite god, of the warrior (?) god, the kingly, the powerful," followed by [illegible] and then the word "supreme." What else can this be except "supreme in the land of Hamath"? *Ma-a*, as we know, is a suffix denoting "in the land" or the like, *ya* is also a suffix, [illegible] is *ta*, and [illegible] is *ma*. The first character, therefore, must have the value of *a* or *am*, or possibly *ha*, *ham* or *kham*.

Now in H. V the king, instead of being called "king of the city of Hamath," as in H. I, II, III, is entitled "king of the city of [illegible]." In V 4, IV 3 this is written [illegible]; in IV, 3 we also have the adjective [illegible]. In the first instance we have the horns followed by *am* (*ham*) twice repeated, and the couch *mâ* with the plural sign. This reminds us that in the language of Arzawa there was a plural in *t* or *d* (*bibbit* or *bibbid* "chariots"). It would seem, therefore, that the Hittite word for "horns" was (*h*)-*ama-t*, or something similar, and we may accordingly read the first instance (H)AMAT-*ammat*-MÂT, the second instance being (*h*)*anat-am-ya*, and the third (*h*)*amat-ammat-nas*. The cross may be identical with the cross in J. II, 6 (*am-mi*?) and I, 4 (*am-a-ar*?).[1]

[1] On the Skanderûn stone, obv. 2, we find a word *a*(?)-*m-m-a* followed by the horns (unless the character is rather the animal's head NA) and the plural suffix *-mis* (or *-is*). It seems to be the phonetic representative of the ideograph [illegible], to which the determinative of plurality is attached.

(*To be continued.*)

GILGAMEŠ AND THE HERO OF THE FLOOD.

By Theophilus G. Pinches, *LL.D.*

(*Continued from page* 122.)

The next scene presented to us is Gilgameš before the goddess Siduri, who bears the descriptive title of *sabitu*, a word of doubtful meaning. She is said to have sat on the throne of the sea, wearing (if I understand Jensen rightly) clothing bound on with cords, and enshrouded in a cloak. He runs to her, and she sees him coming from afar, and bolts her door. Gilgameš, however, will not be gainsaid, and, threatening to break it open, he at last obtains admission. The usual questions as to his worn and weatherbeaten appearance follow, and he gives the answer that his friend, the panther of the plain, with whom he had performed so many great deeds, was dead, that he himself feared death, and that he would not arise again to all eternity. He ends by asking the road to Ut-napištim.

The answer is, that there is no way over, and that since the beginning of time none had passed over, except "the Sun-god, the warrior." The ford was difficult, the road fatiguing, and deep were the waters of death. But there was Sur-Sunabu, Ut-napištim's boatman, to whom he might go. He was to let him see his face, and if it were possible he could cross over with him, if not, he must turn back. On hearing this, Gilgameš seized his weapons, and hurriedly continued his way.

Where the text again becomes legible, the hero is in the presence of Sur-Sunabu, who is addressing to him the same questions as all those who had hitherto encountered him on his journey, and Gilgameš returns the same answer. On asking the road to Ut-napištim, Sur-Sunabu tells him that he had himself hindered the

journey, in that he had destroyed some stony thing which seems, from the sequel, to have formed part of the ship in which he would have to travel. Acting upon instructions from Sur-Sunabu, Gilgameš goes to the forest and cuts down 120 galley-oars of 5 *gar* (60 ells) long, which he takes to Sur-Sunabu, and thereupon they both go on board the ship and cast off. The journey was to be one of a month and fifteen days, coming, on the third day (? thereafter) to the waters of death, which Gilgameš was not to touch with his hands. In crossing this all the galley-oars seem to have been used up, but in what way is not clear. Before arriving at the end of their voyage, Gilgameš sets up (according to Jensen) a mast, but whether to catch the breeze or as a signal is not stated, though the latter would seem to be the more probable, as immediately afterwards Ut-napištim is said to have perceived the ship. It is not improbable, however, that what Jensen regards as a mast, was in reality a platform upon which to stand, the desire of Gilgameš being to catch sight of Ut-napištim as soon as possible. The latter, on his side, seems to notice that the ship is damaged, and that there is on board a stranger, who was not a man, and also, according to Jensen's restoration, not even a human being, and yet not a god, but one like himself, as is also stated in the first paragraph of the eleventh tablet, which contains the story of the Flood. The introduction to the immortal patriarch, Ut-napištim, follows, in which the cause of the journey of Gilgameš is related, and in the end he says that he will go and see Ut-napištim, with whom Sur-Sunabu speaks, and to see whom he had come so far, and passed through so many dangers and hardships. The record of the meeting itself, however, is wanting, and of the interview which followed the tenth tablet has the end only of a longish speech of Ut-napištim, containing some exceedingly interesting but in many cases imperfect lines, ending with a statement as to the uncertainty of life, the length of which is determined by the gods alone.

The contents of the eleventh tablet, which contains the story of the Flood as related by Ut-napištim, it is not necessary to refer to here, as it is probably well known to most of my audience. Suffice it to say, that after the story is finished, and it is clearly shown how it was that Ut-napištim attained life in the assembly of the gods, the restoration of Gilgameš to health is related, and he departs with Sur-Sunabu to Erech *supuri*, where they arrange, to all appearance, for the restoration of the ruined buildings of the city. The twelfth

and last tablet of the series is devoted to the account of the state of the departed in Hades, with special reference to Êa-du, Gilgameš's departed friend, the cause of whose death is far from clear, the only certain thing with reference to it being, that "the earth had seized him." In the end, however, the god Êa lets the spirit of Êa-du come forth to earth once more, possibly to inhabit his body again. He refuses to tell, however, what he had seen concerning the "law" (so Jensen) of the earth, for the hearer of the story would only sit down and weep. Concerning the state of the dead, on the other hand, he is willing to speak, and relates that those who have fallen in battle and have been buried, abide in a heavenly dwelling in comfort and happiness; but when it is otherwise, the unfortunate spirit, whose existence there is a reflection of that which he passed whilst on earth, "Food in a trough, the leavings of the meal, which upon the ground is thrown, he eateth."

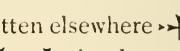
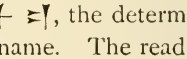
It is difficult to fix the point in the version, already known to us, where the interview of Gilgameš with the Sun-god comes in, but from the wording one would imagine that it happened during his long journey in the land of darkness, which seems to be identified with the underworld, where the dead who have not died in a condition to secure the happiness of the blessed had their abode. Having lain there the whole of the year, he prays to be released, that his eyes might see the sun, satisfied with brightness. His request, "May the dead who has died see the glory of the sun," apparently refers more especially to the case of his friend Êa-du.

The second and third columns, which refer to Gilgameš's interview with Siduri, the *sabitu*, correspond with the first and second columns of the tenth tablet of the version discovered by George Smith, though it is difficult to find any parallel for the new version there. The short details of what Gilgameš and Êa-du did together are replaced, in the text discovered by Dr. Meissner, by the simple words "Êa-du, whom I greatly love—with me has he undergone all misfortunes. Now he is gone to the fate of mankind, day and night have I wept over him." There is a statement, though in different words, that he fears death, but instead of the despairing cry that he, when he died, would not rise again to all eternity, he expresses the desire that, now that he has seen the face of the *sabitu*, he might not see death. It is a comfortless answer, however, that the *sabitu* gives. Death is the lot of mankind, set by the gods, who retain life in their own hands. Eat, drink, be merry, clothe thyself with

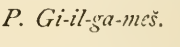
glorious apparel, take delight in thy child and in thy wife—such is her altogether worldly advice. It was certainly not what the Babylonian hero expected, and we may take it that, in the gap following the third column, there was a request for something better, and more satisfying to his needs at the time. We see from the version first published by G. Smith, that she advised the hero to seek Sur-Sunabu, and there is every probability that the new version contained a similar recommendation.

In the fourth column of the new version, Gilgameš is in the presence of Sur-Sunabu, after having destroyed something in his anger—probably the *šut âbni*—the stony things—which, in the other version, seem to have been part of the ship which ferried passengers across the waters of death. Sur-Sunabu, however, is not angry with him for what he has done, for when Gilgameš comes back, and stands by him, he simply looks into his eyes, asking him what his name is, telling him at the same time his own. Gilgameš, in his answer, states who he is, and why he has come—namely, to see Uta-naištim (as the name seems to be spelled here) the remote, whose servant (this is apparently the idea to be understood) Sur-Sunabu was. From the wording of the whole, it would seem that the new version did not contain those lengthy repetitions which characterise the Gilgameš legend discovered by the late George Smith.

There are two or three noteworthy things concerning the names to be referred to.

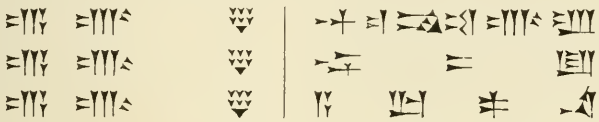
The name of Gilgameš, which is written elsewhere  , *Giš-gan-maš*, is here shortened to  , the determinative prefix and the first component part of his name. The reading Gilgameš was published by me in 1890, from the tablet 82-5-22, 915, where the comparison is given :

D.P. Giš-gan-maš | *D.P. Gi-il-ga-meš.*

The variant, which has been referred to by several Assyriologists, namely,  , *Gis-gibil-ga-miš* (apparently pronounced *Gilgameš*), was first pointed out by Prof. Hommel in the *Proceedings* of this Society for November, 1893, and from that it would appear that this ruler was the first to build the fortress of Erech, the city which he ruled. Such an inscription as this, re-

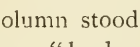
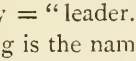
ferring as it does to an architectural work erected by Gilgameš, almost brings that hero forth from the mists of the mythical period into the daylight of history. His name is also mentioned in five or six other inscriptions, and in some cases forms part of personal names, pointing to a firm belief, in the minds of the people, in his divine nature.

Yet another reference to the name of Gilgameš seems to occur in the bilingual list described as the third tablet of the series Sarru. "king."[1] This is given on the reverse, left-hand double column, lines 6–8, where we read as follows :—

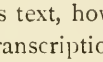


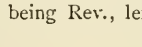
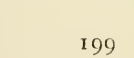
Kalaga imina	D.P. Giš-bil-ga-miš.	*Gilgameš.*
Kalaga imina	muq - tab - lu	*Warrior.*
Kalaga imina	a - lik pa - na	*One going before.*

The meaning of *Kalaga imina* is "Hero seven," and the question naturally arises, whether Gilgameš was regarded as the seventh of a succession of great men. The two lines which follow tell us that the characters in the first column stood also for "warrior," and "one going before," apparently = "leader."[2]

Hardly less interesting is the name of his friend and companion, whom he mourned so deeply. This is given in the text first published by G. Smith as  , usually transcribed Êa-banî. In Dr. Meissner's text, however, it is written  , pointing to some such transcription as *Enki-du.* As *Enki* is

[1] W.A.I. V, 30.

[2] There is another section of this tablet where the number , *imina,* "seven," occurs, illustrating its mystic signification. In this case, however, it refers to towns or districts, four being mentioned, namely, Babylon, Erech, Kiši, and Yamutbala. In the lines preceding these it is translated by *kiššatu,* "the world," and  (so read instead of), *sibit,* "seven," evidently as the number of perfection and completeness. A study of this point, however, would necessitate a reference to all the documents where the number occurs.

In my late revision of the inscription I found one or two other corrections of the text, the most important being Rev., left-hand col., l. 29,  (?) for  (?) = *tildu.*

equivalent to the god Êa, I have adopted provisionally the reading *Êa-du*. It still remains to be decided which of the two ancient spellings is the correct one. [illegible], *Enki* (*Êa*)-*du* (*duga*) would mean "Êa is good," and [illegible], *Enki* (*Êa*)-*du*, "Êa creates." This variation in the spelling arises from the homophonic values of the characters [illegible] and [illegible], due (at least in the case of the former) to phonetic decay.

Sur-Sunabu (or -Sunapu) is also a very interesting name, probably furnishing the key to a number of others similarly compounded. The form in the old version was read Ur-Ḫamši by G. Smith. Many years ago, however, I pointed out that the name of the divinity (the second component) was not the sign for "50," but for "40," and I proposed the reading Ur-Šanabi,[1] in accordance with the gloss placed beside the group [illegible] in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. II, pl. 55, l. 52. The new tablet shows that this was correct, *Sunabu* being a Semitic Babylonian transcription of *Šanabi*, with a changed vowel in the first syllable, and the termination of the nominative at the end. In the first part of the name, we have the interesting variant of *Sur* for *Ur*, implying a new value for the character [illegible]. This evidently receives illustration and confirmation in such examples as [illegible], *uš*, also, apparently, *šuš*, Semitic *šuššu*, the *soss*; [illegible], *šu* and *u*; [illegible], *ṣurṣub* and *urṣub* (*Proceedings*, May, 1901, p. 204), and would be a parallel to the substitution of the light breathing for the sibilant in Greek, and the *h*-conjugations (hiphil. etc.) for the *š*-conjugations (shaphêl, etc.) in the Semitic languages. Probably the names Ur-Engur, Ur-Bau, etc., ought to be transcribed Sur-Engur, Sur-Bau, etc.

The variant for the name of the Babylonian Noah is likewise of interest. According to Meissner's copy, this is *Uta-naištim*, and with this my own collation of this part of the inscription when in Berlin in September last entirely agrees, though, with Meissner, I am inclined to keep an open mind until we have some confirmation, either by cleaning the end of the inscription where the name occurs for the second time, or in some other way. The absence of the [illegible] in [illegible] seems strange, but may be due, as

[1] See the *Proceedings* for Jan., 1881, p. 40, l. 17, in which line, however, [illegible] is miswritten for [illegible]. [illegible] is the correct form, and is the same as that of the personage under discussion. The Semitic rendering of Sur-Sunabu (-Šanabi) is *Awel-Êa* (*Amel-Êa*), "Man of the god Êa."

he suggests, to the pronunciation of *p* as *f*, and then as *v*, ultimately disappearing, in the written form, altogether. The name receives illustration from the phrase *ûl uta balatam*, "I have not looked for life," in col. 2, l. 10. By this Jensen's provisional transcription, *Ut-na pištim*, in his *Mythen und Epen*, would seem to be fully justified and confirmed.

This is, as before remarked, yet another example of the treasures which await the pick of the excavator in that ancient land. It is needless to say that Dr. Meissner, and also the *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, deserve the best thanks of scholars for the publication of this inscription. The above translation and notes upon the text will doubtless be appreciated by the members of the *Society of Biblical Archæology*, in whose *Transactions* George Smith first published the Babylonian story of the Flood.

[It was my intention to give, as an appendix to the above, part of a duplicate of the first tablet of the Gilgameš series, with transcription and translation. As, however, I was told at the British Museum that the fragment in question was reserved for publication by the Trustees, I withhold it, trusting that its issue may not be long delayed.]

SOME EGYPTIAN ARAMAIC DOCUMENTS.

By A. Cowley, *M.A.*

On his return from Egypt in 1901, Prof. Sayce brought to the Bodleian Library three small rolls of papyrus which he had purchased at Elephantine. The library already owes so much to his judgment and liberality, that we awaited the unrolling of them with the greatest interest, and the more so as from a few detached fragments we knew them to be written in Aramaic. The first and the second were unrolled, but were disappointing, as no respectable sense could be got from them. The third proving more difficult, Dr. A. S. Hunt kindly undertook to open it, and then suggested that the three fragments really formed one document. By much patience, and with the help of Dr. B. P. Grenfell, the whole was eventually pieced together, and now forms the longest and most continuous text of the kind hitherto published. It is practically complete, with the exception of about a quarter of the first two lines, and is unusually clear and easy to read. It had apparently been rolled up and then bent over into a third of its length. It naturally broke at the bends, and hence its appearing in three columns, although fortunately little has been lost in the breaking. When I came to decipher it, Prof. Sayce also showed me three ostraka which he had acquired at the same time and place, and which proved to refer to the same names (and probably the same persons) as the papyrus. He also had a rough copy of another ostrakon, now in Berlin, in which we together recognised the name of one of the persons concerned. Lastly, I remembered an ostrakon (in the British Museum) published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, which again had reference to the same persons. All five came from Elephantine. No. 1 is complete, but the beginning of the convex side is almost obliterated. No. 2 is probably complete, but almost obliterated. Only a few

words can be made out with certainty. No. 3 is a mere fragment, very difficult to read. No. 4 (British Museum) is not quite complete. The text given below, which differs in some minor details from that in the *C.I.S.*, is based on a very careful collation of the original in the light of the allied texts. No. 5 (Berlin) is from a tracing and photograph most kindly procured for me by Prof. Strack. No. 6 is a fragment belonging to Prof. Sayce. He is uncertain as to the place at which it was originally found.

I have not attempted to give a consecutive translation of the ostraka. They seem to have been used for familiar correspondence and private notes, and are not written in the same straightforward style as, for instance, the legal document on papyrus. Even Greek ostraka, of which we possess numerous specimens, and of which the language is known in every phase and stage, often present great difficulty. Much more is this the case with Egyptian Aramaic ostraka, of which only about a dozen have been published, mostly mere fragments, and of which the language is still very little known. It seemed worth while, however, to print the texts, without waiting till they can be interpreted, because every new fragment adds to our chances of understanding them. We can only hope to succeed in doing so when large numbers have been published and systematically treated, as Wilcken, Grenfell and Hunt have treated Greek ostraka.

With regard to the date we can only form a conjecture. There can be little doubt that all the seven documents belong to the same time. If they belonged to the Ptolemaic period, they would probably have been written either in Greek or in Demotic, like other inscriptions of that date, including the ostraka of the Jewish tax-collectors at Thebes, as Prof. Sayce suggests to me. On the other hand, Aramaic was commonly used in the Persian period. The papyrus deed is drawn up between persons mostly bearing Jewish names, and Jews have at all times composed such documents between themselves in the language commonly used by them, whether Hebrew, Aramaic, or Arabic, and not necessarily in the official language of the country in which they are living. But these were usually ratified before the Beth-din, or Jewish ecclesiastical court, as may be seen from numerous examples in the Bodleian Library. In the present papyrus there is hardly room for any mention of the Beth-din in the lost part of the first line, nor can we feel certain that the colony was large enough to possess a court of

the kind. It may therefore be conjectured that the deed was drawn according to the procedure of the country, and that Aramaic was used as being the official language of the time. In that case it most probably belongs to the Persian period, or at any rate is not later than 300 B.C. The latter is the date assigned by Euting[1] to an ostrakon in a similar hand, while de Vogüé (I think, in most cases, rightly) puts the whole series of these documents considerably earlier, on the authority of one dated in the reign of Xerxes, 482 B.C.[2]

This appears then to be the earliest contemporary evidence of the presence of Jews in southern Egypt. They were already settled there, "in the country of Pathros," in Jeremiah's time (Jer. xliv, 1, 15), and are rebuked by him for joining in the religious practices of the country. The authors of these documents were evidently engaged in trade (apparently as bankers or money-lenders), and this was no doubt usually the case with Jewish settlers in Egypt. Agriculture was not available for them, and they were not likely to be able to compete with natives in industrial skill. Moreover, trade connexions with Judæa were always close. That they had at least business relations with natives is shown by the Egyptian names occurring in the ostraka. If the interpretation proposed below for the two words שז and חלרן in the papyrus be accepted, it would appear that the Jews made use of the Babylonian monetary system even in Egypt.

A curious fact about the ostraka, which I have not noticed in any other specimens, is that two of them (Nos. 1 and 3) are palimpsest. It is true that only a few letters can be made out with certainty in the lower writing, but there is no doubt about the fact. It is possibly by the same hand (in No. 1) and certainly of the same period as the upper writing. The firm evidently did a considerable business, and the potsherds, although one would have thought they were plentiful enough, appear to have been scraped or cleaned after they had served their purpose, and then used over again. They thus represent the sort of notes one might make on an old envelope or a half sheet of note-paper now, and this partly accounts for the difficulty of understanding them.

I must thank Prof. Sayce very heartily for his kindness in letting me use his ostraka, and for his invaluable help in the difficult task of deciphering the documents.

[1] *Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad.*, 1887, p. 407.
[2] *C.I.S.*, pars. ii, No. 122.

In the following transcripts doubtful letters are marked with a line over the top, thus א̄: letters supplied by conjecture are enclosed in square brackets thus [אבג].

Papyrus.

From Elephantine. MS. Aram. c. 1 (P), in the Bodleian Library.

1. . . . . ר̄ בר יתמא ל . . . נתנת לי כסף
2. . . . . פ̄ . . . בני פתח כסף שז לו וירבה עלי כסף חלרן ||
3. לכסף שז לירחא עד יום זי אשלמנהי ל[ך] ותהוה מרבית
4. כספך חלרן ||| . . . לירח | וירחא זי לא אנתן לך בה
5. מרבית יהוה ראש וירבה ואשלמ[נה]ה̄ לך ירח בירח
6. מן פרסי זי יתנון לי מן אוצרא ותכתב לי נבז על כל
7. כסף ומרבי זי אהוה משלם לך והן לא שלמת לך כל
8. כספך ומרביתה עד ירח תחות שנת . . ||| ||| יעקף כספך
9. ומרביתה זי ישתאר עלי ויהוה רבה עלי ירח לירה
10. עד יום זי אשלמנהי לך
11. שהדיא
12. עקבן בר שמש נורי̄
13. קצרי בר יהדרי̄
14. מחסיה בר ידניה
15. מלכיה בר זכריה̄
16. כתב ספרא גמריה בר אחיו על פם שהדיא זי על ספרא זנה

Translation.

1. [This is the agreement between X and Y] bar Yathma. You have given me the sum of
2. . . . . Pṭḥ the sum of shz for himself (?), for which interest shall be due from me at the rate of 2 ḥlr
3. per shz per month, till the day on which I repay it to you. The interest of your loan (to me) shall be
4. x ḥlr per month. Any month in which I fail to give you
5. interest, it is to be (added to the) principal, and to bear interest. I agree to pay it to you month by month
6. out of my pay which they give me from the treasury, and you shall give me a written receipt (?) for all

7. money and interest which I pay to you. If I fail to repay to you the whole of
8. the principal, with the interest thereon, by the month of Thoth in the year [? 1]6, I am to be held liable for double (?) the principal
9. and interest outstanding, and to continue to pay interest (on it) month by month
10. till the day when I repay it to you.
11. Witnesses :—
12. 'Uqban b. Shemesh-nuri.
13. Qoẓri b. Yah-hadari.
14. Maḥaseiah b. Yadoniah.
15. Malkhiah b. Zekhariah.
16. The document was written by Gemariah b. Aḥio in the presence of the witnesses who(se names) are appended hereunto.

L. 1. It is quite uncertain whether any of the fragments before בר יתמא really belong to this place. . . . ל, the remnant of a letter, is most likely the end of a ל. Something like לאמר might perhaps be supplied. The word is used on Ostrakon I.

L. 2. בני . . . פ; of the doubtful letters only the tail remains. Either may be ב or פ. If it is בני, it cannot mean "my son," since בר is consistently used elsewhere.

שז. The reading is certain here and in l. 3. As ש is used as an abbreviation for שקלים apparently (*C.I.S.*, ii, No. 153, etc.), this might be taken as "7 shekels." But the sum is too small, and in the other places in this papyrus where numbers are used, they are not expressed by letters. It seems to indicate a sum of money, rather than to be an epithet, ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον. Perhaps it is the Babylonian "soss" (= 60 shekels = 1 maneh), or, as Prof. Sayce suggests, a Persian word.

חלרן might also be read חלדן. Meissner quotes *ḫalluru* as used in connexion with interest in cuneiform contracts, as Prof. Sayce pointed out to me.[1] If the interest is charged at

[1] Prof. Sayce has very kindly sent me the passages, with translation, as follows :—

"Nbk, 373, 12. elat XVIII siqli khummusu khalluru kaśpi, 'upon 18 shekels in coin *kh.*'s of silver': XVIII siqli khummusu khalluru kaśpi ✚ siqlu [kaśpi] khummusu ina mukhkhisunu irabbi, 'on 18 shekels in coin *kh.*'s of silver the interest shall be ½ shekel of silver in coin.'

the usual rate of 30 per cent. per annum, the שז would be equal to 80 חלרן. At 20 per cent. it would be 120. In the latter case if שז be 1 maneh, חלר will be half a shekel.

L. 4. The numeral is partly lost. It may be III III, or possibly there is room for eight. The small fragment following seems not to belong here.

The character after לירח might be a ז, but it is not made quite like the ז elsewhere, and is more probably a mark of punctuation (like the word-divider in Persian cuneiform), showing that a new section follows.

The רא after זי is on a fragment which has accidently got shifted into the line below.

L. 5. The א in ראש (not ריש) is practically certain.

L. 6. If אוצרא means "treasury," the debtor would appear to have been in government employment.

נבז is another enigmatical word. Its meaning, taken in conjunction with תכתב, can only be some document, presumably a receipt. It cannot therefore be connected with נבזבה (Dan. ii, 6). Perhaps it is Persian, from the stem of نوشتن, *to write.*

L. 7. ומרבי. The reading is quite certain.

L. 8. תחות has the earlier form, in which the guttural ח is still sounded (*cf.* פתח in line 2): it has not become weakened as in the Greek form θώθ.

III III . . שנת. Does this represent a date? If so, according to all analogy we should expect a name to follow. If not, it must mean so many years from the date of the contract. This again is difficult, because the document does not appear to have been dated otherwise. The space lost after שנת must have contained a numeral, either a sign for 10 or 20. This

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Nrgl, 41, 1. ribâtu khalluru ana nabdhu ana Samas-yuballidh nadin, 'a quarter of a *kh.* for a *nabdhu* he has paid to Samas-yuballidh.'

Nab, 1019, 5. 1 siqlu kaśpi khalluru iddinu, '1 shekel of silver *kh.* they shall pay.'

Nab, 1075, 9, 10, 13. 1 siqlu khalluru, ½ siqlu khalluru, 1 siqlu ⅕ khalluru; '1 shekel (and) a *kh.*,' '½ shekel (and) a *kh.*,' '1 shekel (and) ⅕ *khalluru.*'

Dar, 119, 5. sa arkhi ina mukhkhi 1 mana II TA qattâtu khalluru kaśpi ina mukhkhisu irabi, 'the monthly interest upon it shall be 2 "handfuls" *kh.* of silver per mina.'

Hence the *khalluru* must be the name of a small coin."

would restrict our choice of a king, if we suppose the years to be regnal years. But the point is so doubtful that it is not worth while to speculate.

יעקף probably means "shall be doubled against me" (עלי in l. 9). If the debt was not paid, or if any interest was outstanding, the debtor was to pay interest on double the accumulated sum at the rate previously settled. Or it may be simply "shall be required of me": an extension of the common Semitic root عقب (shall return, fall upon me[1]). It can hardly be connected with the Talmudic הקפה.

L. 12. שמיש נורי. The second part may be פורי. The name has more of a Babylonian than a Jewish or Egyptian look.

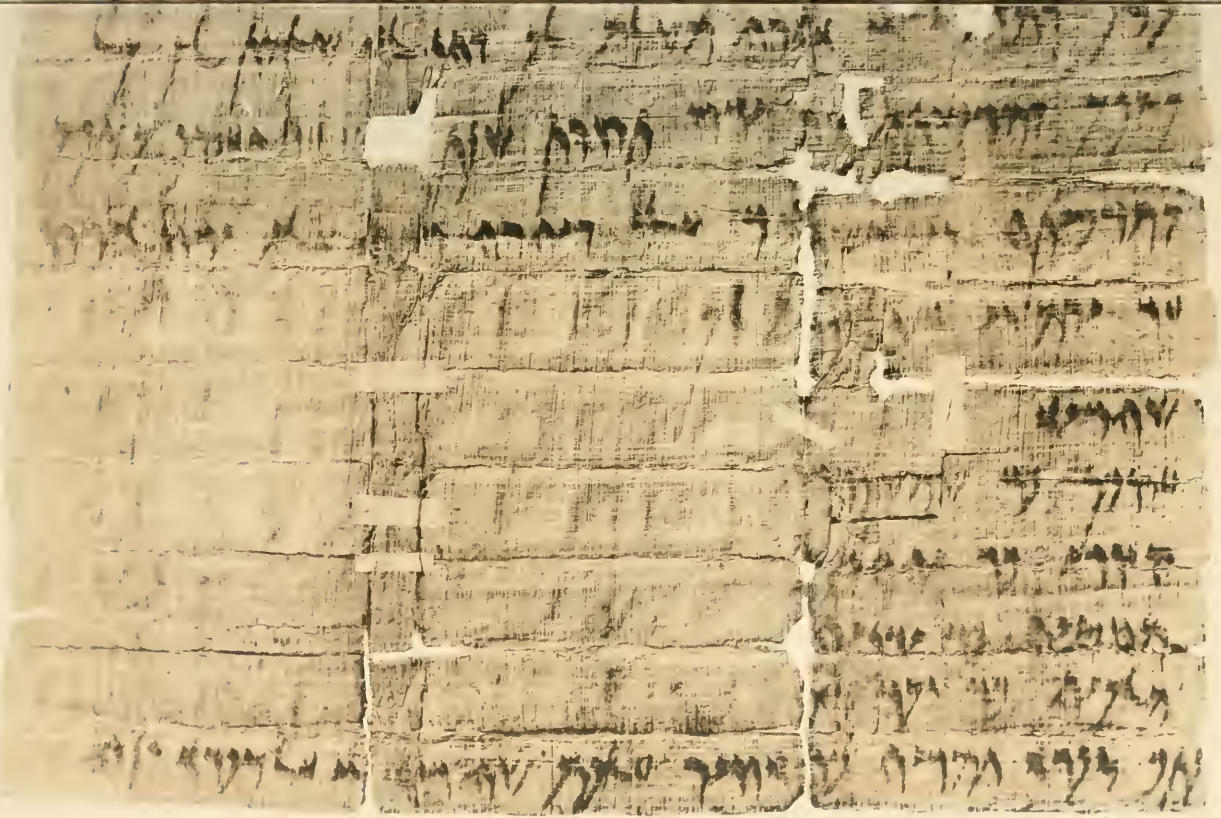
L. 13. יהדרי is fairly certain. "Yah my glory," a strange formation.

L. 14. ידניה. The ד might be a ר, but is not a כ. The name however occurs on Ostrakon IV, where the ד is certain.

As to the legal form, cf. *C.I.S.*, II, Nos. 64, 65, and especially 66, which was written in Babylonia in 450 B.C. The date is given only in the cuneiform part. There is a similar proviso with regard to non-payment. For later forms, *cf.* Grenfell and Hunt, e.g., *Fayûm Towns*, No. 89.

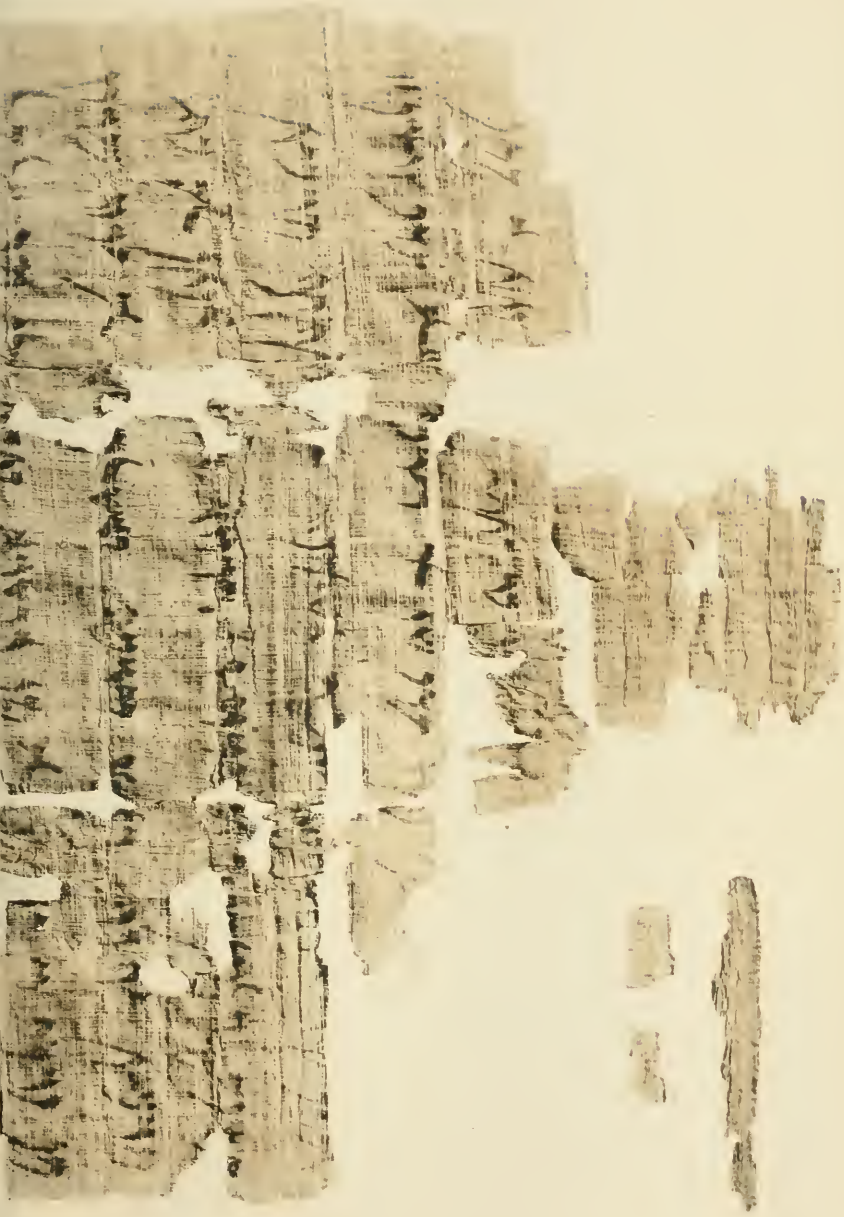
[1] Such a meaning would suit well in *Jer. Talm. Git.*, V, 46c, ומלוה אותו מעות ועוקף ונוטלה ממנו, "lending him money, then *claiming* the debt, and so getting the land from him."

(*To be continued.*)



PAPYRUS FROM ELEPHANTINE

Original size, 13½×9¾ inches



THE TRANSLITERATION OF EGYPTIAN.

Letter of Professor Dr. Jacob Krall, University of Vienna.

I gladly avail myself of the opportunity afforded me by the invitation of the Society, to express my views on the question of the Transcription of Egyptian.

It must not be forgotten that the Egyptian script is first and foremost a pictorial one. It is derived from painting. Its object therefore is to produce the picture of the word in question in the most pregnant manner possible, avoiding confusion of forms to the utmost. The determinatives introduced later also served the same purpose, making the reading of the text markedly easier by indicating the separation of the words to make up for punctuation. But this was all. The transcription question therefore occupies a different place in Egyptian to that which it takes in Arabic or Indian.

There are two methods of procedure possible. Either we can endeavour to reproduce, by means of our types, what the Egyptians actually wrote—and this seems to me the more correct and attainable method—or we can endeavour to reproduce the sounds of their speech as nearly as possible—which is what the Egyptians never themselves attempted to do before Coptic times.

Our systems of transcription have not proceeded consistently with either of these methods. As no attention is paid to the determinatives, and neither ideogram or syllabic is indicated as such, it is impossible to reconstruct the original hieroglyphic text as well as would be possible with a transcribed Arabic text—and yet such signs would have their practical advantages. The awkward Egyptian types could in most cases be dispensed with; the ideogram could be represented by uncial letters, the syllabics marked by a line above them; and the determinatives might perhaps receive a number in three figures, whereby the category to which they belong could be easily recognised.

The Berlin system of transcription differs from its predecessors in essential and unessential points. Among the unessential points I reckon the innovations in the representation of the consonants,

many of which may not be considered happy. Thus the frequent use of the D, a letter which the Copts admitted only in foreign words, is strange; also the transcription *dꜣ* for the hieroglyphic 𓇋 does not agree with that of *ž* proposed by Steindorff (*Kopt. Gr.*, § 4) for the Coptic ϫ, which corresponds to the 𓇋. The ship ϫⲟⲓ̈ would be transcribed in Coptic *žoi*, in hieroglyphics *dꜣy*, without the difference being accounted for by any change of sound. Neither do I agree with the recently assigned phonetic difference between 𓋴 and 𓊃. As early as the Pyramid Inscriptions, the signs are sometimes used interchangeably. That this is not more general is accounted for by the preference of the Egyptians for remaining constant to a word-picture when once established. Still, in practice it is sometimes more suitable to employ a vertical and sometimes a horizontal *s*. Therefore in practice—and this is the origin of the alphabetical signs—a syllabic was brought into use as a second *s*. Here we have the same principle which afterwards added an 𓏏 to the 𓅓, and a 𓆑 to the 𓈖. The fact of the need first becoming pressing in the case of the letter *s*, is easily explained by the fact that the *s* is the letter which most frequently recurred in the Egyptian texts.

Among the significant changes—and, as I think, improvements—introduced by the Berlin system of transcription, is the treatment of the so-called vowels 𓇋, 𓅓, 𓇌, 𓂝. Here we touch a salient point, the question of the relationship between Egyptian and Semitic. Of the matter brought forward in defence of the hypothesis of a connection between Egyptian and Semitic, very little will stand the test of searching criticism, especially in the lexicographical sphere, as has lately been shown in the lists of Semitic and Egyptian words collected by the industry of von Calice.

As regards the suggested connection, we find on the one hand a very close agreement, which apparently shows that we are dealing with loan-words of the highest antiquity—for who can say anything authentic on the early relations between the Egyptians and the neighbouring Semites? On the other hand, we do not find the regular phonetic displacements and changes which the analogy of other languages would justify us in expecting. The Semitic influence which we will acknowledge the Egyptian language was subjecte to, must have previously passed through many changing

stages. The Semitic tongues have so many points in common, that they have also been set down as dialects of the lost original Semitic mother-tongue, and yet have spread into regions occupied by people speaking other languages. The Semitic Babylonians spread themselves over a Sumerian region, yet how insignificant are the traces to be found in the Semitic-Babylonian language of the language of the Sumerians, a people of a high degree of civilization? In view of the extraordinary vitality of the Semitic languages, it is apparent that the prehistoric influences of Semitic on Egyptian, to judge by the actual facts of the historical period, must have been relatively very small. Here we must expect most from the verdict pronounced by the students of Hamitic languages. Thus, if Egyptian, in its original form, is far removed from Semitic—Count Schack has recently pointed out remarkable analogies between it and Nubian—it seems obvious to me that Egyptian must be explained by itself, without endeavouring to stretch it upon the Procrustean bed of categories and definitions, all derived from the Semitic grammar.

In referring, nevertheless, to the transcription of the , , , by conventional signs (as does the Berlin system of transcription) as an improvement, I did so upon the following considerations: We know that the frame given by the consonants in Coptic receives a different value according to the position and quality of the vowel. The hieroglyphic writers, though aware of this fact, used the same signs in all cases, and it is only occasionally that they expressed the different shades [of sound?] by suffixes, never used or written on any very consistent system. , might mean "load," or it might mean "to load." In Coptic "to load" is ⲱⲧⲡ, "the load," ⲉⲧⲡⲱ. To what vowel should the correspond, even if we suppose that represents a vowel? At any rate, has been read differently according as the group meant "load" or "to load," and so in hundreds of cases. in the Greek period becomes *jôt;* is read *Ἄμμων*, ⲁⲙⲱⲛ. What does our knowledge of the vocalisation of Egyptian amount to? With few exceptions, we discover little about it during the Greek and Coptic periods, and the hieroglyphs were settled thousands of years earlier. Dialectal differences must also be borne in mind. The same group was read in Thebes ⲣⲓ, in Panopolis ⲣ̈ⲓ; in Thebes the year was called ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ; in Panopolis, ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ; in the Fayoum,

ΛΛΙΙΠΙ. It will therefore recommend itself to those scholars that hold divergent views as to the value of the phonetic signs , , , , to represent them, as is the case in the Berlin system of transcription, by conventional signs. I cannot suggest what positive and scientifically ascertained equivalents could be arranged to represent the signs in question.

The material contained in thousands upon thousands of Greek, Demotic, and Coptic proper names must be worked over after the fashion set by Spiegelberg, to yield their phonetic teaching. This is the field nearest to hand and most practicable for these researches. This rich mine also yields the forms of the names used in the later period. From these forms transcriptions might be constructed for the use of popular publications.

Letter from PROFESSOR DR. ALFRED WIEDEMANN,
Professor of Egyptology at the University of Bonn.

The transcription of Egyptian appears to me to be rather a question of practice than of scientific theory. Everyone who occupies himself with the Egyptian language to the extent of making use of its grammar or vocabulary, must know enough of Egyptian script to be able to read hieroglyphs for himself. Without such knowledge, scientific work upon Egyptian is as impossible as scientific work upon Greek or Arabic without a knowledge of their respective scripts. Such a want can in no way be supplied by even the most exact transcription. For scientific purposes the transliteration of hieroglyphs, in my opinion at least, has no value except as a saving of money. Printing in hieroglyphs is expensive, as many printing offices do not possess hieroglyphic type. Consequently it is desirable to compensate for this want, and, for this purpose, transliteration is the best method. But it is only a shift to make the reconstruction of the hieroglyphs used by the author possible for the reader. Hence it is sufficient to have at one's disposal conventional characters easy to print, and immediately recalling to the scientific worker the impression of their hieroglyphic prototypes. The most exact method would be to use only the number which each hieroglyphic bears in some type-list, such as Theinhardt's. But this would perhaps appear absurd to those who are not Egyptologists, and would necessitate much reference to the lists.

Speaking generally, the old transcription, connected in the first line with the name of Lepsius, appears to me to suitably fulfil our purpose. In it, only the letters with diacritical marks such as *ȧ ā ḥ š* are inconvenient, and it would be better to have the value of these expressed by single signs, after the analogy of the transliterations χ and θ. Letters with diacritical marks are often wanting in printing offices, and when found there, the points quickly disappear, either by the breaking of the type or by the characters being badly impressed. Lastly, the transliterated *ā* gives a wrong impression of the quantity of this letter.

It is true that the objection might be taken to the use of vowel signs in transliteration, that their use is erroneous in those cases where Egyptian renders with them Semitic semi-vowels. But, on the other hand, the transliteration of these "vowels" by the conventional signs for the Semitic semi-vowels would be false in all those cases where they are used in Egyptian to designate indubitable vowels, as in the transcription of Greek and Roman proper names. The Berlin transcription enhances the number of signs incommodious to the printer by the introduction of crotchets for the "vowels," and thus increases the danger of a faulty impression. Further, it is puzzling to a reader not acquainted with the Semitists' method of transcription. And, lastly, it is based on the *postulatio* that the Egyptian was a Semitic language.

This view was stated by nearly all the linguists of the older school, and has been strongly maintained by Erman and his pupils, but has found many adversaries among Egyptologists. It may be disputed if Egyptian and Semitic were primitively more or less closely allied, or how far Semitic elements are to be found in the Egyptian grammar or lexicon. That the Egyptian in the form known to us does not clearly belong to the very circumscribed circle of Semitic languages, is shown by the fact that it is constantly thought necessary to produce new proofs of its supposed Semitism. With languages Semitic beyond all question, such as Assyrian, no one thinks such extensive proofs necessary, the fact being evident to every linguist. These two circumstances, the increased difficulty of correct printing, and the attempt to pre-judge a question about which "adhuc sub judice lis est" has been pronounced, appeal to me strongly against the Berlin transcription.

We must certainly always bear in mind that the old transcription does not render Egyptian exactly. But absolute exactness in the

written rendering of a language, especially as regards its pronunciation, is always impossible, as Naville has clearly shown in a recent number of the *Proceedings*. The old transcription was a makeshift, but of all those proposed I believe it is still the most commendable. If we transcribe according to this system letter by letter, we sometimes get very curious results, because in use the Egyptians were accustomed sometimes to omit the vowels. In these cases, it seems advantageous to insert the *e*, which is not found among the transcribed letters, as a sign that at this place a probably spoken but unwritten vowel appeared. The system gives no preconceived theory as to the true *pronunciation* of the transcribed words, but purports only to reproduce the written forms of the Egyptian words. If the right pronunciation can be intimated—for instance, if the vowels known from other sources are to be inserted—it is sufficient to distinguish such reconstructed words by a *. In work destined for the general reader such marks would not be necessary. These vocalised words would be mostly proper names, the essential point about which is, that every reader should understand what personalities are meant. Here the best way is to work, when possible, from the Greek transcription. But in all cases it is right to change as seldom as possible the form of such names, if even the usual form is not quite correct, as the repeated change of proper names easily produces mistakes among readers who are not Egyptologists. We have a good precedent for such conservatism in Semitic names, where we continue without cavil to use accustomed forms which are not quite correct, because everybody knows whom they designate. Besides, in personal proper names some technical expressions must be taken into consideration for which other languages do not possess equivalent words, as, for instance, the parts of the soul, the *ka*, the *ba*, etc. But here it is sufficient to have a conventional designation indicating to the reader the form intended, of which the essential is not its pronunciation in ancient times, but its exact meaning.

Under these circumstances, and principally for practical reasons, I believe that the old transcription is the best. Notwithstanding this opinion, I could not wish that anyone should be forced by a scientific journal to use it, but would let everybody transcribe according to his own principles. Debate of the different theories will give the right and most practical one much quicker than the attempt to enforce the same system upon all.

NOTES ON AN INSCRIPTION AT EL KAB.

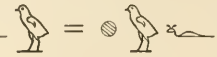
By F. W. Green.

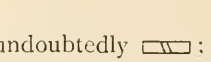
Professor Sayce has given in these "*Proceedings*" (Vol. XXI, 108) a hand copy of an Old Kingdom graffito in the district of El Kab, in which several cartouches appear, one of which he proposes to read , a name hitherto unknown on the monuments, but which he suggests may be the Soris of Manetho.

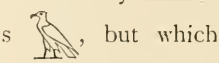
While at El Kab last year I examined the inscription on two occasions and took six photographs of it. They are, however, not sufficiently clear to allow of their being reproduced, and the one shown on the accompanying Plate has had the design strengthened with pen and ink.

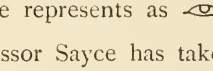
The inscription, which is roughly scratched on the soft Nubian sandstone, is much weathered, and it was only towards sunset, when the light fell obliquely, that I was able with a long exposure to get a satisfactory photograph of it. As may be seen from the photograph and Professor Sayce's drawing, the inscription consists of a boat of very archaic type (Pl. I) resembling those generally assigned to the prehistoric period, the stem and stern being curved upward; in the bows are two curved lines which may represent the branches or awning of the prehistoric boats, while the two vertical scratches may be intended to represent the mast. The hawk in the bows is very indistinct, and it was only after comparing my photograph with the Professor's drawing that I was able to ink it in on the photograph. Short rowing oars, represented by inclined scratches which his drawing does not show, occupy the greater part of the fore part of the boat, while at the stern are two long steering oars. Above the boat is a rectangular cartouche surmounted by a *nb* sign, on which stand two hawks crowned with the crowns of upper and lower Egypt respectively. Within the cartouche (Pl. II, fig. 1) are the signs which

Professor Sayce reads [hieroglyphs], but which I think should be read [hieroglyphs] = [hieroglyphs]: King *Ḫwfw* of the IVth Dynasty.

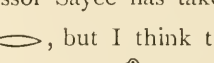


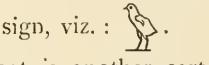


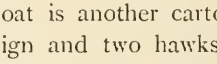


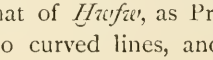


The first sign is undoubtedly [hieroglyph]: then comes a bird which Professor Sayce reads [hieroglyph], but which I think is a badly or ignorantly drawn [hieroglyph]; next comes an almost obliterated [hieroglyph], which Professor Sayce represents as [hieroglyph]; lastly is another bird whose long legs Professor Sayce has taken for the final [hieroglyph], while the body makes his [hieroglyph], but I think that the photograph shows that we have only one sign, viz.: [hieroglyph].

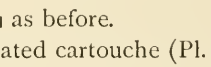


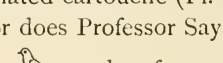




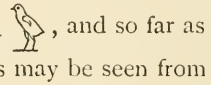


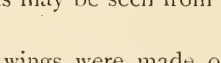
In front of the boat is another cartouche (Pl. II, fig. 2), surmounted by the *nb* sign and two hawks; here the name, though much weathered, is that of *Ḫwfw*, as Professor Sayce says, but the [hieroglyph] is indicated by two curved lines, and I fancy that the scribe intended to write [hieroglyph] as before.

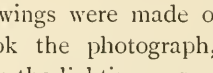




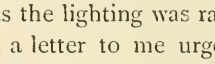
The third, and isolated cartouche (Pl. II, fig. 3), does not appear on the photograph, nor does Professor Sayce give a drawing of it, but he reads it [hieroglyphs], and so far as to the king being *Ḫwfw*, I agree with him, but, as may be seen from drawing 3, the first sign is [hieroglyph] and not [hieroglyph].

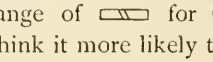






As these three drawings were made on an occasion other than that on which I took the photograph, they are practically independent evidence, as the lighting was rather different.



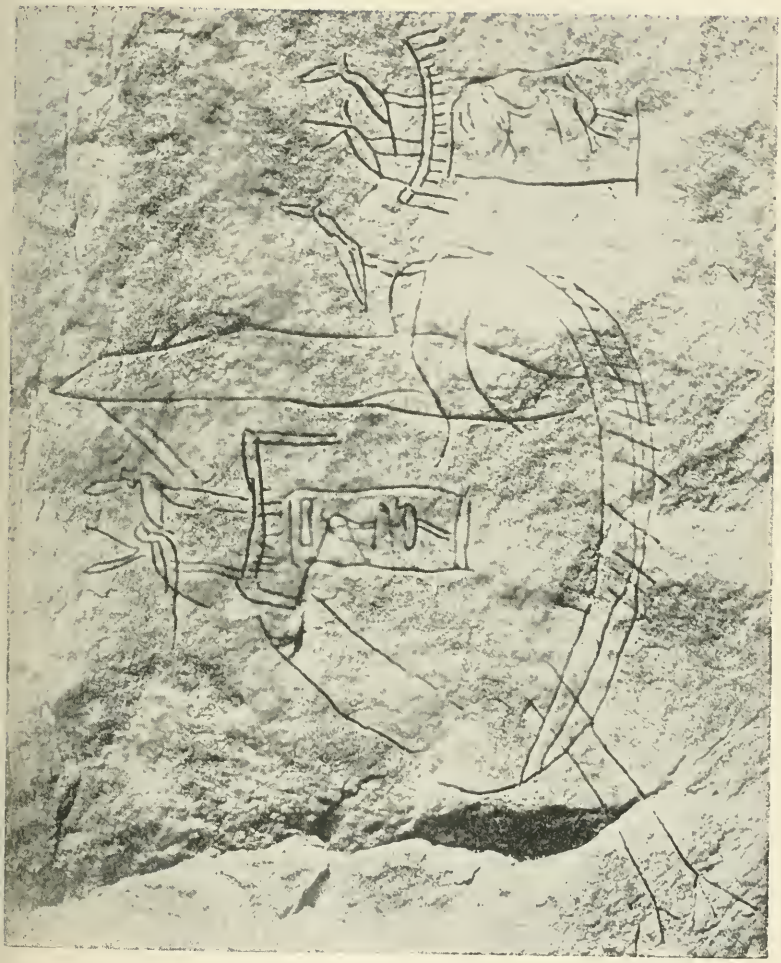


Professor Sayce in a letter to me urges as one objection to my reading, that the change of [hieroglyph] for [hieroglyph] occurs only in Græco-Roman times,[1] but I think it more likely that we have an example of local pronunciation, or a clerical error, perhaps arising from some confusion of the hieratic of the period, rather than that we have the unique monument of a king only otherwise known from a Greek transcription.

May not some similar error have given rise to the various forms of *Ḫwfw's* name, such as Kheops and Saōphis? (*šꜣ . w . f . w .* ?)

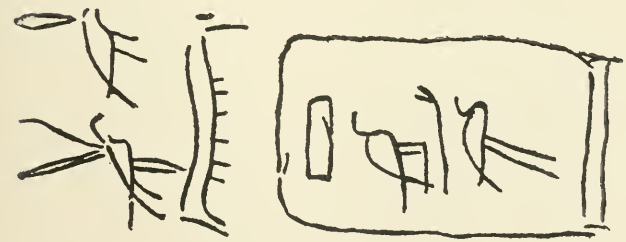
[1] See also Sethe's *Verbum*, Vol. I, § 255, 2.

PLATE I.

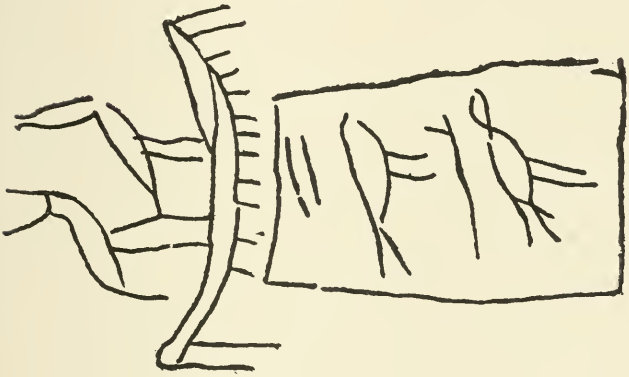


GRAFFITO AT EL KAB.
⅓ the size of the original.

PLATE II.



1



2

3

GRAFFITI AT EL KAB.
$\frac{2}{3}$ size of the originals.

THE SEKHEMET[1] STATUES

OF THE

TEMPLE OF MUT AT KARNAK.

BY

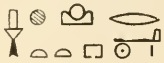
Percy E. Newberry.

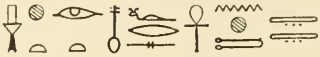
Arranged around the Outer Court, the Colonnaded Court, and the Western Corridor, of the Temple of Mut at Karnak are many statues of the Goddess Sekhemet. They are all sculptured from one material—black granite, and represent the goddess seated upon the usual ⊓-throne. The heads of some of the statues are sculptured with great vigour, though the body and limbs are often not so well executed. One remarkable head, of much larger size than the rest, was discovered by Miss Benson and Miss Gourlay during their excavations on the temple site a few years ago, and a photograph of it is published in their book on the Temple (Pl. X, p. 122). In the same work is given a photograph (Pl. XIX, p. 248) of one of the many Sekhemet statues dedicated by Shashanq I. By far the greater number of these statues, however, were dedicated by Amenhetep III. The inscriptions give the prenomen and nomen of the king, stating that he was beloved by Sekhemet, mistress of some locality, or with some special attributes. (For a specimen inscription, see *The Temple of Mut*, p. 369.) In 1898 I made copies of the names of these localities, *etc.*, on the statues still standing in the temple, and since then I have been collecting the inscriptions on the figures of Sekhemet from the temple, which have found their way to many of the principal European collections. In

[1] The name of this goddess was formerly transliterated "Sekhet": for the correct reading, "Sekhemet," see Erman in Ä.Z., XXIX.

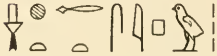
the following list I have arranged these inscriptions in alphabetical order, and give them in the hope that they may be of interest to students of Egyptian religion and mythology.

1. Vatican, No. 26.

2.  Karnak.

3.  Turin Mus.

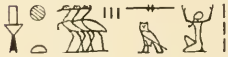
4. Louvre.

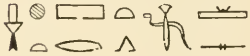
5.  Karnak.

6. Karnak.

7. Karnak.

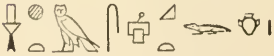
8. Turin Mus.

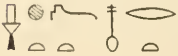
9.  Luxor Hotel Garden.

10.  Karnak.

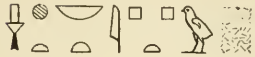
11. Brit. Mus.

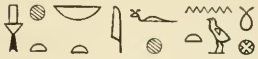
12. Karnak.

13.  Karnak.

14.  Karnak.

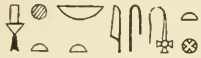
15. Karnak.

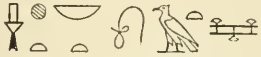
16.  Karnak.

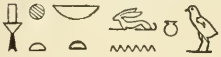
17.  Karnak.

18. Karnak.

19. Karnak.

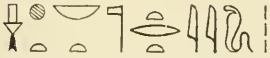
20.  Brugsch, *Dict. Geogr.*, 71.

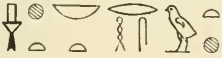
21.  Karnak.

22.  Karnak.

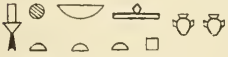
23. Karnak.

24. Karnak.

25.  Brit. Mus.

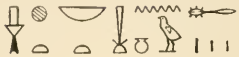
26.  Brugsch, *Dict. Geogr.*, 71.

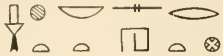
27. Louvre.

28.  Karnak.

29. Amherst Coll.

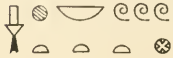
30. Karnak.

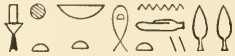
31.  Louvre.

32.  Brit. Mus.

33. Karnak.

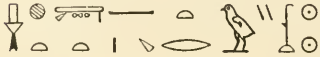
34. Karnak.

35.  Turin Mus.

36.  Brit. Mus.

37. Louvre.

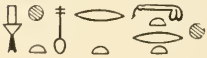
38. Amherst Coll.

39.  Karnak.

40. Vatican, No. 147.

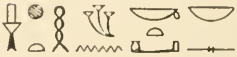
41. Karnak.

42. Karnak.

43.  Karnak.

44. Karnak.

45. Brit. Mus.

46.  Karnak.

47. Karnak.

48. Brit. Mus.

49. Karnak.

50. Karnak.

51. Karnak.

52. Karnak.

53. Karnak.

54. Karnak.

55. Karnak.

56. Karnak.

57. Vatican, No. 38.

POSTUMUS, PREFECT OF EGYPT.

By Dr. Samuel Krauss.

Postumus, the Prefect of Egypt, A.D. 45–47, is mentioned, and fresh information regarding him given, by Mr. Seymour de Ricci in these *Proceedings*, XXIV, 58. But he appears further in a source unsuspected by students of classical antiquity. In one of the *Mishna*, remarkable alike for its historical contents and for its monumental style, and to be found again, according to Schürer (*Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*, 3d ed., I, 692), almost word for word in Jerome, the following sentence is to be read: "On the 17th of Thammuz . . . . . Postumus burned the Thora" (*Thaanith* iv, 6). I give the form 'Postumus' and not 'Apostumus,' because, although אפוסטומוס is the common reading, פוסטומוס has good support in the Munich MS., and even were that not so, we should merely have here the prosthetic *a*, familiar in many Greek and Latin words met with in the Rabbinic idiom.

This important sentence from the *Mishna* has hitherto lacked explanation, the person of Postumus having been unknown. He is not named in connection with the Jews either by Flavius Josephus or by any other writer, and we are thus wholly dependent upon the *Mishna* and kindred documents (*Jerusalem Talmud*, Thaanith 68[c]; Yalkut 11, Regum § 250). So small is the Talmudists' acquaintance with him, that it is disputed whether he lived in the time of the first or of the second temple. Nor have modern enquirers been more successful; they content themselves with vague suppositions. I will here give the literature of the subject, mentioning only those results which seem worthy of notice :—

J. Schwarz, *Das heil. Land*, 279, Frankf. a. M., 1852, recalls the incident under Cumanus,[1] when a Roman soldier tore up a scroll of

[1] *Cf.* Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire de la Palestine*, 59.

the law (*v.* Schürer, *l.c.*, 569). *Cf.* Rapoport in Kobak's *Jeshurun*, I, 45, and in *Erech Millin*, 181; also N. Brüll in his *Jahrbücher*, VIII, 9. Halberstam, in *Rev. des ét. juives*, II, 128, is of opinion that the reference is to the general Julius Severus, also called Faustinus. This would be in the time of Bar-Cochba, to which period L. Löw, in *Ben-Chanania*, VI, 925, likewise assigns it. Graetz, on the other hand, places him in the age of the Maccabees[2] (*Gesch. der Juden*, II², 314); so too Hochstädter (*Rev.*, *l.c.*), who reads אפוסטוטוס, 'Apostate,' and sees therein the high priest Alcimus. The same reading is adopted by Schlatter, *Zur Gesch. u. Topogr. Palästinas*, 36, note 1, without any knowledge of his predecessor's view. This scholar elsewhere (*Die Tage Trajans u. Hadrians*, 24, Gütersloh, 1897) expresses the opinion that the 'apostate' here is the well-known Elisha b. Abuia—an opinion, however, already refuted (*Rev.*, XXXVI, 199). The talmudic lexicons of Levy, I, 138, and Kohut, I, 222, content themselves with a meaningless *Postumus*. I myself, in my *Griech. u. Lat. Lehnwörter im Talmud, etc.*, II, 101, 600, have left the question undecided.

Yet I think the person mentioned by the *Mishna* is to be recognized in C. Julius Postumus. The editors of the *Prosopographia Imp. Romani*, II, 208, suspect the identity of the Julius Postumus, who occurs in Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 12, with that of the later Prefect of Egypt. This Postumus, however, is connected with Seianus, one of the bitterest enemies of the Jews; it would be scarcely wonderful, therefore, if Postumus too should seek to injure them. Whether he adopted such a policy with the numerous Jews in his province we do not know. We find him mentioned in the great inscription of Tiberius Julius Alexander (*C.I.G.*, III, No. 4957, l. 27, ὡς ὁ θεὸς Κλαύδιος ἔγραψεν Ποστόμῳ), himself Procurator of Judæa A.D. 46–48, Prefect of Egypt, 68–69, and who appears in Titus' camp before Jerusalem in 70—a total period of over 30 years. So too Postumus who was Prefect in 47, might be still holding office about the year 70, especially as the family of the Postumi was one of eminence. Unfortunately there is no record of his having been in Palestine; that must be inferred from the *Mishna*.

Perhaps the deed of which he is accused is capable of closer definition. According to one view, found in the Jerusalem Talmud,

[2] Jastrow, *A Dict. of the Targumim, etc.*, 101, would read ἀπόστολος and refer it to an officer of Epiphanes.

the burning of the *Thora* took place upon the bridge at Lydda (Diospolis); according to another, on the bridge at Tarlusa.[1] The latter place still requires identification; but Lydda is well known. In the spring of 68 Vespasian started from Casaerea and came, among other places, to Lydda (Josephus, *B.J.*, IV, 8, 1, § 444, *ed.* Niese). This may still have been in the month of Thammuz. Here then Postumus may have permitted himself the burning of a *Thora* scroll. How ill the Jews would take this we know from the cases under Antiochus Epiphanes and Cumanus, and may thus account for its careful record. It should be, however, observed that only this one act of Postumus is recorded; the next sentence in the *Mishna*—where והועמד as Passive is the right reading—ascribes the erection of the statues, presumably Hadrian's, to another.

[1] The suggestion that Arethusa is intended is revoked by Schlatter (*Tage Trajans*, 24, note 2).

THE JEWS OF THE DISPERSION IN ROMAN GALATIA.

BY E. J. PILCHER.

Nearly two hundred and fifty years ago, the Italian antiquarian Falconeri drew the attention of the learned world to the series of large brass coins issued in the third century of the Christian era by the magistrates of the town of Apameia Cibotus, in Asia Minor. These pieces of money distinguish themselves from the other pagan issues of the period, by bearing as a reverse type a design which is evidently intended to commemorate the Deluge of Noah. This design contains four human figures; but it seems that they are intended to pourtray *two* incidents in the same story, in accordance with the customary conventional treatment of such subjects in antiquity. Upon the right hand side of the coin is a male and female couple seated within a coffer, floating on the water. Upon the left hand, the same couple stand upright upon dry land, with their hands raised in an attitude of devotion. Above the figures are two birds; one of which is perched upon the coffer, while the other flies aloft with an olive branch in its claws. To complete and explain the scene, the word ΝΩΕ appears in large letters upon the front of the coffer. (*See* Plate.)

These remarkable pieces were struck in the reigns of three different Roman Emperors, namely, Septimius Severus, who held the empire from A.D. 193 to A.D. 211; Macrinus (217–218), and Philip I (244–249); and the three issues may be thus described:—

Fig. 1. Æ[1] Obverse: ΑΥΤ·Κ·Λ·ϹΕΠΤ ϹΕΟΥΗΡΟϹ· ***ΤΙ (Autocrator Cæsar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax). Bust of Septimius Severus to the right, laureated, with military cloak and cuirass.

Reverse: ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑ Γ. (By authority of the President of the Games, Artemas the third.) In

exergue ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ (of the Apameians). Design as already described.

This specimen was formerly in the collection of Louis XIV of France, and is now in the *Cabinet des Médailles* at Paris.

Fig. 2. Æ[1] Obverse: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΟΠΕΛ ϹΕΟΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟϹ ϹΕΒΑ (Autocrator Cæsar Marcus Opelius Macrinus Sebastos). Bust of Macrinus to the right, laureated, with military cloak and cuirass.

Reverse: In exergue ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ (of the Apameians). Same design.

This specimen appears to be unique. It was formerly in the Viennese Academy of the Society of Jesus; and is now in the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Antiques at Vienna.

Fig. 3. Æ[1] Obverse: ΑΥΤ Κ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟϹ ΑΥϹ (Autocrator Cæsar Julius Philippus Augustus). Bust of Philip the Elder to the right, laureated, with military cloak and cuirass.

Reverse: ΕΠ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Β ΑΡΧΙ ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. (By authority of Marcus Aurelius Alexander, the younger. Chief Priest. Of the Apameians.) Same design.

This specimen is now in the British Museum, having been presented to that institution in 1849 by Mr. Doubleday. The *flan* may be genuine; but the whole design upon both sides has been re-tooled by some artist in later times. There are several copies of the coin in existence, some at least having obviously been cast. Ottavio Falconeri first described the piece in 1668, from an example in the collection of the Grand Duke of Florence; but Prof. Gori, Keeper of the Grand Ducal Coins, demonstrated it to be a cast fabrication. At the same period other copies, worse executed, existed in the cabinets of Cardinal Ottoboni and Prince Chigi.

Fig. 4. Æ[1] Obverse: ·***·Κ·ΙΟΥΛ·ΦΙΛ***** ***. Bust of Philip the Elder to the right.

Reverse: ΕΠ Μ·ΑΥΡ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ·Β·ΑΡΧΙ·ΑΠΑ-ΜΕΩΝ. Same design; but the name on the coffer is indistinct, only the Ν and a faint trace of the Ω showing.

This is a genuine untouched specimen, from the Whittall collection, and is now in the British Museum. Although badly oxidised, the principal features can be made out; and it is figured here to

I

II

III

IV

BRONZE COINS OF APAMEIA CIBOTUS.

show that the preceding example is an intelligent restoration of an ancient coin.

The types upon autonomous coins usually bear reference to the ancient history of the locality, or the myth of its foundation; but Apameia Cibotus was not a place of any antiquity, for it was not built until the reign of Antiochus Soter (280–261 B.C.). In the vicinity formerly stood the town of Celænæ, which was at one time the capital city of Phrygia; and was mentioned by Xenophon (*Anab.*, I, ii, 7) as a residence of Cyrus the Younger. Antiochus I, however, removed the inhabitants to a new site, which he named Apameia, after his Persian mother Apama. To distinguish it from other localities of the same name, the Phrygian town was styled Ἀπαμεία ἡ Κιβωτός. The word *Kibotos*, or coffer, is used in the Septuagint, the New Testament, and the Sibylline Oracles, for the Ark of Noah. It does not appear to have been used as an epithet of the city before the time of Strabo (XII, 569), who is followed by Ptolemy and Pliny. Apameia Cibotus became a very flourishing place. It continued in importance during the period of the Roman Empire; but afterwards declined, and it disappeared so completely that its very site was forgotten until 1834, when it was rediscovered by Mr. Arundell near the modern Turkish village of Dineir.

The Noah type upon the coins of Apameia may, however, appear less mysterious if we remember that Asia Minor possessed a large Jewish population, settled there by the Seleucid kings. This part of the world had been conquered by Cyrus the Great, and organised by Darius Hystaspes into the three satrapies of Cappadocia, Sparda, and Ionia, as we learn by the inscriptions of that monarch at Behistun and Naksh-i-Rustam. That the district was still known as Sparda by the Babylonians in B.C. 275, is evidenced by the astronomical tablet published by Dr. Epping and Dr. Strassmaier in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. VI, p. 235, which states that in the 37th year of Antiochus and Seleucus the kings, upon the 9th day of the month Adar, the governor of Chaldea, and an officer of the king, who had gone to the country of Sparda, returned to the royal city of Seleucia which lay upon the Tigris.[1] Greek history informs us that at this particular time Antiochus I was campaigning in Galatia; and it was his signal victories over the Galatians, which swept back the

[1] "The 'Higher Criticism' and the Verdict of the Monuments," by the Rev. A. H. Sayce. London, 1894, p. 483.

Gallic invasion of Asia Minor, and earned him his title of Soter, or Saviour, from his grateful subjects. Thus there can be no doubt as to the position of the district of Sparda; and the Sephared (ספרד) of Obadiah 20 has at last been identified.

It was not, however, until the reign of Antiochus (III) the Great (223–187 B.C.) that a Jewish population was introduced into Asia Minor. Josephus[2] has preserved the copy of an edict by Antiochus III to Zeuxis, the satrap of Lydia, ordering him to receive two thousand Jewish families, who had been removed from Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and to settle them in Lydia and Phrygia. Josephus is not very clear about the date of this document, but it appears to have been shortly after 198 B.C. We know from Polybius (XVI, i, 24) that Zeuxis was in possession of the Satrapy of Lydia in 201 B.C., for in that year he supplied the army of Philip V of Macedon with a quantity of corn, to assist them in the war against Attalus II, king of Pergamus. In 198 B.C. Antiochus the Great defeated the Egyptian general Scopas at the battle of Paneas, and conquered the whole of Palestine, his advance being greatly facilitated by the assistance of the Jewish population. It therefore seems most probable that the edict of Antiochus to Zeuxis was promulgated about this period, when the king had the greatest confidence in the Jews, as proved adherents to his cause. The decree made liberal provision for the comfort of the immigrants upon their arrival in Lydia and Phrygia. Each family was to be provided with a portion of land for husbandry and viticulture; and also with a sufficient quantity of corn to support it until after the harvest. The Jews were to be allowed to live according to their own customs, and they were exempted from all taxes for a period of ten years. With such generous treatment, it was to be expected that the Jewish settlers would succeed very well in their new homes; and when we obtain our next glimpse of them a hundred and fifty years later, they appear to have become numerous and wealthy. We owe this glimpse to one of the incidents of Roman party politics. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a young patrician, having been instrumental in suppressing the Catiline conspiracy, was appointed governor of the province of Asia, in which capacity he acted with great ability. On his return to Rome, however, his political adversaries attempted to get up a case against him; and in 59 B.C.

[2] *Antiq.*, XII, iii, 4.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1903.

Fifth Meeting, 10*th June*, 1903.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*, *&c.* (*President*),

IN THE CHAIR.

The Council regrets to have to announce the Society's loss of two of its oldest Members by the death in May, 1903, of MRS. BURTON-ALEXANDER, and of ERNST DE BUNSEN.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From Prof. I. Guidi. "Three Letters of Philoxenus," by A. A. Vaschalde.

From the Author. "On traces of an Indefinite Article in Assyrian," by R. Campbell Thompson, *M.A.*

From. F. Legge. Encyclopædia Biblica. Vol. IV.

From the Author. "Die Somali-sprache," by Leo von Reinisch.

The following Candidate for Membership was elected :—

A. Cowley, *M.A.*, Magdalen College, Oxford.

The following Papers were read :—

PROF. A. H. SAYCE. Recent Discoveries in Egypt.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH. The god Asshur and the Epic of Marduk and the Dragon.

The Secretary exhibited the "boss" with an inscription of Tarkondemos.

A discussion followed these Papers, in which Mr. Newberry, Dr. Pinches, Sir H. Howorth, Mr. Rylands, and the Chairman took part.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L., etc.*

(*Continued from page* 172.)

CHAPTER CLIIIB.

The Chapter of escaping from the catchers of fish.

O ye snarers (?). O ye fowlers, O ye fishers, sons of their fathers, know ye (1) what I do know, the name of this very great net: the embracer is its name.

Know ye what I do know, the name of its cordage: the bonds of Isis.

Know ye what I do know, the name of its stake: the thigh of Tmu.

Know ye what I do know, the name of the fork: the finger of Nemu.

Know ye what I do know, the name of its point: the nail of Ptah.

Know ye what I do know, the name of its blade: the knife of Isis.

Know ye what I do know, the name of its weight: the iron which is in the sky.

Know ye what I do know, the name of its flowers (2): the feathers of the hawk.

Know ye what I do know, the name of the fisherman: the cynocephalus.

Know ye what I do know, the name of the ground (3), where are its limits: the house of the moon.

Know ye what I do know, the name of him who fishes there: the great prince who sits on the east of the sky . . . . . (4).

I am Rā, (5) who proceedeth from Nu, and my soul is divine. I am he who produceth food, but I execrate what is wrong.

I am Osiris, the possessor of Maāt, and I subsist by means of it every day.

I am the eternal one, like the bull. (6) I am feared by the cycle of the gods in my name of the eternal one.

I am self-originating, together with Nu, in my name of Chepera, from whom I am born daily.

I am the lord of Daylight, and I shine like Rā; he gives me life in these his risings in the East.

I come to heaven, I take hold of my place in the East.

The children of the great god nourish him to whom they have given birth, with sacred offerings.

I eat like Shu. I ease myself like Shu. The king of Egypt (Osiris) is present. Khonsu and Thoth (7) their laws are within me. They impart warmth (8) to the heavenly host.

NOTES.

This Chapter is found only in two papyri: Paris, III, 93, and the Papyrus of *Nu*. Both of them are, in some parts, very incorrect. The Paris document here and there omits a line; I had to use them both for the translation.

The first part of the Chapter is only a nomenclature of the various parts of the net, very similar to 153A.

The vignette represents a drag-net drawn by three dog-headed apes.

1. . I believe there is a slight difference of meaning between this old participial form, and the usual . I consider that the first form means: do you know well? are you certain to know? or do you pretend to know?

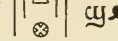
2. . I suppose this word means the papyrus flowers which are sometimes tied to the net. (Bergmann, *H.I.*, p. 53.)

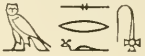
3. where we had in 153A. .

4. Here the discrepancies between the two texts are so great, that I do not venture to give a translation.

5. The following lines are an abridged recension of chapter 85, where I repeat Renouf's translation.

6. The bull of Amenta, Osiris, as he is called in the first chapter (see note 5, Chapter I).

7. Thoth, the god of  ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ Hermopolis. (Brugsch, *Dict. Suppl.*, p. 927, *Dict. Geog.*, p. 749.)

8. , litt. warmth, means probably a moral quality. In the Canopus inscription  corresponds to the Greek *κηδεμονικῶς*.

CHAPTER CLIV.

The Chapter of not letting the body decay (1) *in the Netherworld.*

Hail to thee, my father Osiris. I have come to embalm thee. Do thou embalm this flesh of mine, for I am perfect like my father Chepera, who is my image, he who does not know corruption.

Come, take hold of my breath of life, lord of the breath, lofty above his equals; vivify (2) me, build me up, thou lord of the funeral chest.

Grant me to go down into the land of eternity, as thou doest when thou art with thy father Tmu, he whose body never decays, he who does not know destruction.

I have not done what thou hatest, the command (which I obey) is that which thy *ka* loveth, (5) I have not transgressed it.

I have been delivered, being thy follower, O Tmu, from the rottenness which thou allowest to come over every god, every goddess, every animal, every creeping thing which is corruptible.

After his soul has departed he dies, (4) and when it has gone down he decays; he is all corruption; all his bones are rottenness, putrefaction (5) seizes his limbs and makes his bones break down, his flesh becomes a fetid liquid, his breath is stink, he becomes a multitude of worms.

(As for me) there are no worms (6). He is impotent whoever has lost the eye of Shu (7) among all gods and goddesses, all birds and fishes, all snakes and worms, all animals altogether, for I cause them to crawl before me, they recognise me and the fear of me prevails over them, and behold every being is alike dead among all animals, all birds, all fishes, all snakes, all worms, their life is like death.

Let there be no food for the worms all of them. Let them not come to me when they are born, I shall not be handed over to the destroyer in his cover, who destroys the limbs, the hidden one who causes corruption, who cuts to pieces (8) many dead bodies, who lives from destroying.

He lives who performs his commands, but I have not been delivered into his fingers, he has not prevailed upon me, for I am under thy command, lord of the gods.

Hail to thee, my father Osiris! thy limbs are lasting, thou dost not know corruption; there are no worms with thee, thou art not repugnant, thou dost not stink, thou dost not putrefy, thou wilt not become worms.

I am Chepera, my limbs are lasting for ever. I do not know corruption. I do not rot, I do not putrefy, I do not become worms. I do not lose the eye of Shu.

I am, I am, I live, I live, I grow, I grow, and when I shall awake in peace, I shall not be in corruption, I shall not be destroyed in my bandages. I shall be free of pestilence, my eye will not be corrupted, my skin (?) will not disappear. My ear will not be deaf, my head will not be taken away from my neck, my tongue will not be torn away, my hair will not be cut off, my eyebrows shall not be shaven off. No grievous harm shall come upon me, my body is firm, it shall not be destroyed. It shall not perish in this earth for ever.

NOTES.

This Chapter is not frequently met with in the papyri; it was written on the wrappings and the bandages of the dead; for instance, on the funeral cloth of King Thothmes III, where it is not complete. This Chapter is interesting, as it shows how repulsive to the Egyptians was the idea of corruption, of the decay of the body, which is described here in most realistic terms. This is one of the reasons why they gave such importance to mummification.

Parts of this Chapter are very obscure. The translation has been made from the text on the mummy cloth of Thothmes III, supplemented by the Papyrus of *Nu*.

The only vignette we have is that of the Turin Papyrus, showing a mummy lying on the bed, and illumined by the rays of the sun.

1. , "to pass away, to disappear through corruption or decay." Sometimes it seems to have an active sense: to let something pass away, to lose it.

2. , is generally translated "firm, stable, abiding" (Chap. I, note 9), but I believe in most cases it has another sense: "to vivify, to impart the breath of life," as one may judge from the title of Chapter 182, which mentions two acts, one of which is the consequence of the other, : "the book of vivifying Osiris, giving breath to him whose heart is motionless."

In the mythological or celestial geography is the East (Pl. IV). There life originates; there also the deceased inhales the breath of life (Chapter 57, p. 110; Naville, *Todt.*, Einl., p. 28).

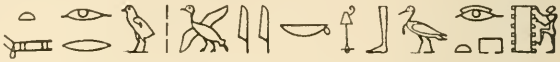
3. See *Sphinx*, V, p. 199.

4. . I consider as being here the adverb *afterwards*. His soul goes out, and *afterwards* he dies, it goes down and *afterwards* he decays.

5. , litt. the destroyers; the word occurs again further on: the destroyer who is in his bush (?) or cover, the hidden one. It is evidently a metaphor, for the sense is obvious; it is putrefaction. The word in the Turin papyrus , litt. locks, might apply to the vegetation or the excrescences which are often the sign of putrefaction.

6. . The passage is very obscure. I believe the drift of the idea is this: after having described very thoroughly what corruption is, the deceased says: as for me I am protected against those evils. Even should every being fall into corruption, having lost the eye of Shu, it is nothing to me, because I am feared by all.

"worms do not exist." is explained by two passages. At Abydos the priest says to the god (Mar., *Abydos*, I, p. 34) .

"I have come to perform the ceremonies, for I have not come to do nothing, I have not come in vain." In the poem of Pentaur, when Rameses II, addressing Amen, recalls all he has done to honour the god, he says:  : "is it nothing, this thy terrace which I built for thee?"

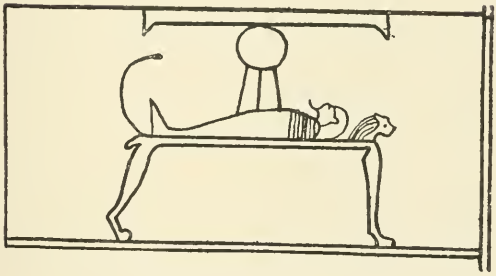
7. The eye of Shu is either an amulet or a magic power residing in some part of the body, which prevents it from becoming worms. It is the defence against corruption. Further the deceased says: "I do not become worms; I do not lose the eye of Shu."

8. Litt. ploughs into dead bodies.

(*To be continued.*)

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER 153B. Louvre, III, 93.



CHAPTER 154. LEPSIUS, "Todt."

CHAPTERS 151, 155, 156. Louvre, III, 89.

LE PROCÈS DU VAUTOUR ET DE LA CHATTE DEVANT LE SOLEIL.

Par le Prof. Dr. E. REVILLOUT.

Déjà en 1880, du vivant de mon excellent ami Mr. Birch, notre vénéré Président et Fondateur, j'ai lu à la Société des extraits des entretiens philosophiques de la chatte éthiopienne et du petit chacal-singe—ou chacal Koufi ; et j'en ai publié d'autres dans ma *Revue égyptologique*. Aujourd'hui je veux lui donner la primeur d'un nouveau morceau très intéressant, par lequel débute presque actuellement le même livre ; morceau dont le texte est malheureusement en assez mauvais état dans l'original, mais peut être assez facilement rétabli.

Il s'agit du grand problème des fins dernières. C'est ici le Koufi qui parle :

"Tu dis, o chatte, que tu as fait de constants efforts vers la vertu, et que la destinée (*shai*) t'a sauvée de tout mal ; tu as reçu et accepté les infortunes de ce monde pour honorer tous les bons ordres divins. Celui qui fait tort, ou lui fera tort. Fera tort au malfaiteur, celui sur lequel repose le monde. Belle, dis tu, est la destinée qu'on me prépare."

Tu ajoutes : "Les chacals qui ont détruit ses chairs (d'un animal précédement nommé) parviendront au lieu de châtiments. Il court (l'animal sacrifié) en ce lieu de verité où est le châtiment et où on lui fera l'ombre de protection, parcequ'ils (les chacals) ont médité d'en faire nourriture."

"Eh bien ! écoute la, madame, cette histoire que je vais dire devant toi.

"Il y avait un vautour né dans les pierres de la montagne. Il y avait une chatte née dans les trous d'un colline. Il arriva que le vautour emporta les enfants de la chatte, comme nourriture, à ses petits, sans qu'elle (la chatte) eut fait tort au vautour. La chatte était sortie dehors lors du massacre que le vautour avait fait de ses enfants. Elle ne sut pas ce qui avait arrivé."

Ici se trouve un assez long passage très lacuneux, dans lequel on voit cependant mentionner, à plusieurs reprises, la chatte, le vautour, les enfants de la chatte, et la rétribution qui était demandée pour la meurtre. Les deux parties comparurent devant le soleil (le dieu Ra), en présence duquel ils plaidèrent leur cause. Le texte recommence à devenir intelligible au milieu du plaidoyer du vautour :

"Je me dis : ici règne la disette, en sorte que ma gorge est desséchée. La chatte est sortie . . . . . , que j'aille tuer ses enfants. Ils feront ma nourriture ainsi que celle de mes petits. La destruction viendra à ma famille, ou elle frapera la vie de la chatte. Il n'y a pas d'autre alternative pour moi et pour elle !"

Après avoir ainsi fait part des reflexions qui l'avaient inspiré, le vautour expose ce résumé de l'affaire devant les yeux du soleil :

"La chatte est sortie en désirant de la nourriture pour ses petits. Il en est semblablement du vautour."

"La chatte, de son côté, voulut exiger la rétribution (*ṭoobe*) c'est-à-dire la punition du coupable. Elle tourna sa face pour prier devant le soleil, en disant : 'tu connais mon malheur ; est venu le vautour pour faire massacre de mes enfants, après l'établissement de tes bons ordres' (c'est-à-dire malgré les bons commandements donnés par toi). Elle les avait entendus. 'Sa voix, est elle préférable à la mienne? Je viens te demander de faire parvenir la rétribution au vautour, puisqu'il a fait massacre de mes enfants.'

"Parla ainsi la chatte pour obtenir la rétribution (la punition) relativement au domaine que la destinée lui avait fixé et qui avait été violé par le vautour."

C'était donc un procès tant au civil qu'on criminel qui était entrepris par la chatte contre le vautour. La solution ne se fit pas attendre, et ce fut la destinée (*shai*) qui intervint alors, bien plus encore que le dieu Ra. On lit, en effet, après les phrases que nous venons de reproduire :

"Il (Ra) lui ordonna (au destin, au *shai*) de rétribuer le vautour pour l'équivalence de ce qui était dû à la chatte. Mais cela fut ordonné par le destin (*shai*), devant le soleil, que la chatte reçût partage en similitude du vautour, parcequ'il (*shai*) avait pris dans sa bouche cinq petits lézards qu'elle avait saisis pour en faire la nourriture de ses enfants ; elle transportait cette chair dans sa bouche ; car grand était le désir très ardent de dévorer des chairs qui s'était allumé en elle—sans qu'elle pût remplir les ordres de Ra. La vautour aussi tomba. Il trébucha dans le péché, parceque ses

petits avaient faim. Il ignorait même qu'il était dans le domaine de la chatte, si proche du domaine du vautour. "Quoi? Que feras tu, O Soleil?" conclut le destin (*shai*).

"Après ce requisitoire du *shai*—procureur général de la cour suprême—le dieu Ra rendit son arrêt en ces termes:

"Le soleil dit: Comme tout être désire une nourriture, je pardonne le méfait du vautour, jusqu'à ce que d'autres massacrent ses petits, dans une ardeur semblable."

Le Koufi, en vient plus loin à peindre cette lutte pour la vie, ce "*struggle for life*," que règle le *fatum* (le *shai*) comme il règle toutes choses. Tous les êtres s'entremangent et doivent s'entremanger. J'ai lu déjà autrefois à la Société toute cette page fort intéressante amenant à la conclusion:

"Il n'y a point de parole ou de chose, si ce n'est celle que fait le dieu, qu'il prononce dans la nuit.

"Celui qui fait le bien (parole bonne ou chose bonne) il se retourne pour lui en mal (parole mauvaise ou chose mauvaise). Cela après cela.

"Qu'en adviendra-t-il pour le meutre?

"Le lion; le *serref*,[1] lui fait violence. On le laisse-prier les dieux . . .

"Est ce que tu ne sais pas que le *serref*, c'est le roi terrible de quiconque est sur le monde, celui là. La rétribution, il n'y a pas de rétributeur pour la lui rétribuer. Son nez est celui du faucon, son œil est celui de l'homme, ses flancs ceux du lion, ses oreilles celles du . . . . . , ses écailles celles de la tortue de mer, sa queue celle du serpent."

"Quel souffle (quel être animé) existant sur le monde pourra être de sa sorte, quand il frappe! Qui donc au monde est en similitude?"

"La mort est la rétribution. C'est la reine terrible de quiconque est sur le monde encore, celle là."

"Tu sais cela: Celui qui tue, on le tuera; Celui qui ordonne de tuer, on le tuera aussi."

"Il vaut mieux que je dise ces paroles sur devant toi, pour faire parvenir ceci en ton cœur, qu'il n'y a aucune chose qui pourra écarter le dieu, le soleil, le disque sublime, la rétribution venant de Dieu."

[1] Ou *sefer*, animal fantastique, le dragon ailé des égyptiens, comparable au griffon ou au *roch* des Arabes.

— On dit : " Je suis petit de taille devant le soleil, et il me voit. Comme est sa vue sur moi, de même, son flair, son audition Qui donc au monde lui échappe encore? Il voit ce qui est dans l'œuf."

" — Il en est ainsi, et celui qui mange un œuf est comme celui qui tue."

" Non ! leur prière ne restera pas après eux encore ; même si je me transporte dans la bonne demeure (le tombeau) pour les y voir. Leur prière pour leur protection—au sujet du sang des victimes qu'on a tuées—on ne la fera pas parvenir devant Ra ! "

" — On dit : 'Ils meurent. On recherchera leur os, pour leur donner le repos. Ils resusciteront après la mort qui leur a été infligée. Ils demandent la protection des dieux et des hommes pour leur sang : '

" — C'est pour calmer leur cœur ; car si je parle de la rétribution de la vengeance, de cette rétribution qui accomplit leur supplication pour qu'on leur fasse protection, ou pour qu'on fasse disparaître les (coupables), je ne dis que la vérité, car la priere ne tue pas le coupable, jamais. Il est après cela arrivant. Il vivra. Il mourra. Il n'écartera pas cela non plus."

" Les Dieux prennent soin de qui donc sur le monde, depuis l'insecte *Sir* (le Ciron?) qui n'a point d'être plus petit que lui et qui puisse parvenir à son ignominie, jusqu'au *Serref*, qui n'a point d'être plus grand que lui ? "

" Le bien, le mal, que l'on fera sur la terre, c'est Dieu qui le fait recevoir et qui dit : 'que cela arrive.' "

Je me suis demandé, et je me demand encore, si ce livre n'a pas étéécrit pour servir de réponse à une livre, également démotique, recemment découvert et qui semble antérieur, que j'ai étudié ces temps derniers—étude compléte qui paraîtra bientôt.

L'auteur, élévé dans des idées très différentes, disait, au contraire :

" Que soient les choses de Dieu, une plaisanterie pour le cœur de l'homme sans vergogne."

" Que soit la vie de l'homme sans vergogne, un fardeau pour le cœur de Dieu même."

" Qu'on lui donne la durée de vie, pour le réserver pour la punition."

" Qu'on donne les biens à l'homme sensuel, parcequ'il a reçu son souffle pour cela."

"On ne connaît pas le cœur de Dieu, jusqu'à ce qu'il fasse venir la résurrection."

"Est ce que la créature levera la main? Dieu la connaît.

"Il connaît l'impie qui se glorifie de ses délicatesses et de ses sensualités."

"Il connaît l'homme de Dieu, et le grandissement de Dieu en son cœur."

"La langue dont on n'a pas donné la réponse, ses paroles, Dieu les connaît."

"Le coup de révolution qui vient, alors qu'il est loin, son repaire (son lieu de préparation) est révelé pour lui,"

"En sorte que l'impie fait de sa main un piége être pour quelqu'un"

"Et que Dieu le fait échapper (la victime de l'impie) au désastre auquel il était en quelque sorte attaché."

"Qu'on proclame les prodigues de Dieu dans les infortunes immeritées (sans faute)."

"Il veille la nuit à cela, afin de donner des approvisionnements aux Égyptiens."

"Il fait se manifester, pour l'homme, un cœur et une langue par son action providentielle,"

"En sorte qu'il lui fait faire une bonne venue dans la science qu'il ne connaissait pas,"

"Et qu'il fait être, au contraire, des coups nombreux sans cause apparente (sans personne derrière).

"C'est lui qui protége le chemin sans gardien;"

"Cest lui qui fait le jugement sans juge;"

"En sorte qu'il a établi le grand dans sa grandeur de cœur pour la miséricorde;"

"Et qu'il fait le pauvre qui prie le *hir* (le grand, le seigneur) pour connaître son cœur."

"L'impie ne dit pas: 'Dieu est dans la destinée qui se léve.'"

"Quant à ce qu'il dit: 'cela n'est pas.' Qu'il regarde les choses cachées (les mystères)."

"Le soleil et la lune viendront dans le ciel—Pourquoi?"

"L'eau et le feu et le vent (l'air) viendront—D'où?"

"Une protection et une domination sont sûr les êtres—De qui?"

"La nature de Dieu qui est cachée, il la fait connaître par le monde."

"Il a fait la lumière et les ténèbres—toute la création, en lui."

"Il a fait être le sol produisent la végétation, puis inondé, puis enfantant encore."

"Il a fait être les jours, les mois, les années, par les ordres du maître de l'ordre."

"Il a fait être l'été et l'hiver, par les levers et les couchers de Sothis."

"Il a fait être la nourriture pour ceux qui vivent et les transformations des végétaux."

"Il a fait être la destinée des êtres qui sont dans le ciel, que ceux qui sont sur la terre connaissent."

"Il a fait être l'eau douce dans le monde, ce qui est le désir de toutes les terres."

"Il a fait être le souffle (l'esprit, l'âme, la vie) dans les œufs, sans chemin pour cela."

"Il a fait être des enfantements dans tous les flancs, par les corps qu'il leur donne."

"Il a fait être la pierre, et les os dans les corps susdits."

"Il a fait être la venue du monde entier, par les êtres animés du sol, etc."

Oui, Dieu est, et par cela même que Dieu est, la rétribution sera, bien qu'elle tarde. Aussi s'écrie-t-il ailleurs :

"Le châtiment de Dieu est violent, celui qui vient après la mort de force . . . . . "

"Dieu n'oublie pas. La rétribution ne le rassasie donc point . . . . . ."

"Il n'y aura plus, dans cette demeure de rétribution, de connaissance du jugement (ou des juges), en ce qui concerne l'homme sage (à son préjudice)."

"Il n'y aura plus d'écrasement du faible sans fortune."

"Il n'y a plus, pour le juste, de souci ou de trouble, au temps de repos de Dieu."

"La rétribution n'aura cependant pas lieu sans trouble et écrasement de la sensualité."

"La destinée, la bénédiction, et la puissance, sont à sa parole (de Dieu)."

"Qu'il fasse le jugement pour le péché, en donnant la récompense pour le bien."

"Qu'il fasse être la faim après le rassasiement, et le rassasiement après la faim aussi."

"On ne connaît pas la manière de faire de Dieu, en ce qui concerne la rétribution, qu'il fera surgir pour eux."

"Celui qui s'enflamme pour toutes les transgressions, Dieu s'enflammera contre ses transgressions."

"Celui qui a laissé passer une petite turpitude, celui là répand tous les excés avec tranquillité."

"À la violence, au préjudice fait aux autres, point de misericorde, de peur qu'ils ne réposent dans le vice."

Violà le cri de la conscience, le cri de la raison, opposé à celui des sensations.

Tel est le procès—procès éternel,—qui se plaide entre les incredules et les croyants, depuis le commencement du monde, procès dont Job s'est déjà fait l'écho, et qui a une toute autre portée que celui qui se plaidait devant le Soleil, d'après le Koufi, entre la chatte et le vautour. Celui-ci n'est qu'une parodie de l'autre. Mais cette parodie a son interêt, tant par le fond que par la mise en scène, et c'est pourquoi j'ai crû devoir la communiquer à la Société dont je fais depuis si longtemps partie.

NOTE ON

"THE INSCRIPTIONS AT EL-KAB."

By PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*, *&c.*

Mr. Green is mistaken in saying that the inscriptions which I have given in the *Proceedings*, XXI, p. 108, are "a hand copy"; as I have there stated, they are traced from rubbings. One of the rubbings I have sent to him; three others are here at Queen's College, Oxford, and can be examined by those who wish. Mr. Green's photograph is clear, but the rubbings are equally clear, and the photograph and rubbings do not agree. Can they relate to the same inscription?

THE JEWS OF THE DISPERSION IN ROMAN GALATIA.

BY E. J. PILCHER.

(*Continued from page* 233.)

Noah, and the other inmates of the Ark, then came out, and spread over the Earth. This First Book of the Sibylline Oracles is attributed by Ewald to the end of the third century of the Christian Era; and this view is supported by most other scholars. The poem would therefore be almost contemporaneous with the issue of the autonomous coins of Apameia, which have the ark of Noah for their reverse type. The name of the city is not expressly given in the Oracle, but the line

There the great river Marsyas draws his streams,

is quite sufficient; for the river Marsyas rose in a grotto under the citadel, and flowed through Apameia Cibotus before falling into the Mæander. Consequently the writer of the poem has given a perfect indication of the exact place where he supposed the ark of Noah to have rested. That the name of Ararat should have been transferred from Armenia to Phrygia is not surprising, when we reflect how common it is for traditions to be removed from one locality to another. Folk-lore never fetters itself with geographical considerations, and topography was not a strong point in antiquity.

It is certain, therefore, that, at the time when the Sibylline Oracles were composed, it was a settled article of faith that Apameia Cibotus was the scene of the Noachian deliverance; and this will fully explain the reason for the reverse type of its coins in the reign of Septimius Severus. The magistrate who struck these coins bore the not uncommon Greek name of Artemas. Greek names were universal among the Jews of Asia Minor, as Dr. Ramsay has in-

he was impeached by D. Lælius for extortion and misgovernment during his governorship. Flaccus entrusted his defence to the celebrated Cicero, whose speech upon this occasion is still preserved to us. One of the counts in the indictment was that Flaccus had confiscated a quantity of gold belonging to the Galatian Jews.

"The next thing is that charge about the Jewish gold," says Cicero in his oration. "As gold, under pretence of being given to the Jews, was accustomed to be exported out of Italy and all the provinces to Jerusalem, Flaccus issued an edict establishing a law that it should not be lawful for gold to be exported out of Asia. And who is there, O Judges, who cannot honestly praise this measure? The Senate had often decided—and when I was Consul it came to a most solemn resolution—that gold ought not to be exported. But to resist this barbarous superstition were an act of dignity: to despise the multitudes of Jews, which at times was most unruly in the assemblies, in defence of the interests of the Republic, was an act of the greatest wisdom. 'But Cnæus Pompeius, after he had taken Jerusalem, though he was a conqueror, touched nothing which was in that temple.' In the first place he acted wisely, as he did in many other instances, in leaving no room for his detractors to say anything against him in a city so prone to suspicion and to evil speaking. For I do not suppose that the religion of the Jews our enemies was any obstacle to that most illustrious general, but that he was hindered by his own modesty. Where then is the guilt? Since you nowhere impute any theft to us: since you approve of the edict, and confess that it was passed in due form, and do not deny that the gold was openly sought for and produced. The facts of the case themselves show that the business was executed by the instrumentality of men of the highest character. There was a hundred pounds weight of gold, more or less, openly seized at Apameia, and weighed out in the forum at the foot of the prætor by Sextus Cæsius, a Roman knight, a most excellent and upright man. Twenty pounds weight, or a little more, were seized at Laodicea by Lucius Peducæus, who is here in court, one of our judges. Some was seized also at Adramyttium, by Cnæus Domitius, the lieutenant; and a small quantity at Pergamus. The amount of gold is known: the gold is in the

treasury: no theft is imputed to him; but it is attempted to render him unpopular." [3]

The result of the trial was the complete acquittal of Valerius Flaccus from all charges made against him. But the interest of these proceedings centres in the evidence afforded of the importance of the Jewish population in and around Apameia Cibotus. The Roman officials seized comparatively small sums in Pergamus, Adramyttium, and Laodicea; but at Apameia they confiscated a quantity of gold estimated at one hundred pounds weight. What this gold was is explained by Josephus.[4] It was customary at that period for every Jew to contribute half a shekel per annum to the temple at Jerusalem (Matt. xvii, 24, R.V.). For convenience of carriage, the Jews of the Dispersion converted the silver half-shekels into gold, which was periodically remitted to Palestine. The Gentile authorities, however, strongly objected to the export of all this bullion, thinking, as more modern statesmen have done, that the export of gold reduced the available wealth of the country; and there was thus continual friction between the Jewish communities and their Gentile rulers, not only in the time of Flaccus, but also much later. As each Jew contributed half a shekel, the quantity of bullion seized at Apameia may be taken as an index of the total Jewish population of the district; and it has been calculated by M. Th. Reinach[5] that, at the then ratio of gold and silver, the hundred pounds weight of gold confiscated by Flaccus would represent the contributions of fifty thousand Jews. It is not necessary to suppose that all these Hebrews were residents of the city, seeing that they were originally settled in the country districts as agriculturalists; but the figures will be sufficient to prove that in the time of Cicero Jews were an important element of the locality.

Ten years later, the Maccabean Prince Hyrcanus II intervened with the Roman authorities in order to get the Jews of Asia Minor excused from military service, because their duties in the pagan army would interfere with some of their religious observances. Accordingly, by a decree of Publius Cornelius Dolabella, Prefect of Asia, in B.C. 49, Jews were held exempt from impressment in the army.[6]

[3] "The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero," *Pro Flacco*, Bohn, London, 1852, p. 454.

[4] *Antiq.* XVIII, ix, 1. [5] "Les Monnaies Juives," Paris, 1887, p. 72 n.

[6] Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV, x, 11–12.

In B.C. 15 the Asian Jews obtained fresh recognition. King Herod the Great, having assisted M. Agrippa Vipsanius during some operations in Pontus, was in great favour, and he therefore induced Agrippa to investigate the complaints of the Jews to the effect that former decrees had been disregarded by the authorities, that the money collected for the temple had been intercepted, that they had been impressed for military service, and that they were compelled to attend the law-courts upon the Sabbath Day. Accordingly, Agrippa ordered that the Jews should be allowed to observe their own customs, so far as these were not detrimental to the Roman government (*Antiq.* XVI, ii, 5).

In A.D. 14 an imperial decree was suspended in the temple of Augustus at Ancyra, giving the Jews of Asia full protection in the exercise of their religious customs, authorizing the remittance of the temple-money to Jerusalem, and exempting them from attendance at the law-courts during the Sabbath (*Antiq.* XVI, vi, 2).

After the death of Augustus, we hear very little of the Jews in this part of the world. They appear, however, to have been flourishing, and the Apostle Paul found synagogues scattered throughout the country, notable at Antioch of Pisidia (Acts xiii, 14) and Iconium (Acts xiv, 1).

Although, as we have seen, the Jews of Asia Minor down to the time of Augustus were tenacious of their ancient laws and customs, yet later Jewish tradition throws doubt upon their orthodoxy. Their whole literature appears to have been Greek, and they no longer read the Bible in the original; for it is related that when Rabbi Meir went into the Roman province of Asia to perform a religious ceremony, he could not find a single copy of the Book of Esther in the Hebrew tongue. He therefore inscribed the whole of the roll from memory, in order to be able to conduct the reading in the synagogue in the proper manner upon the feast of Purim.[7] Of (פרוגתייא) Phrygia, generally, the Talmud merely says, "The Phrygian wine, and the baths, have separated the Ten Tribes from their brethren;" evidently meaning to imply that the luxuries of that country had enervated the Jewish communities, and induced some departure from the stricter principles of Judaism.[8]

Dr. Ramsay has published a number of Jewish inscriptions from

[7] "La Geographie du Talmud," par Adolphe Neubauer, Paris, 1868, p. 290.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

Phrygia; but the only one yet discovered at Apameia Cibotus is the epitaph of Aurelius Rufus Julianus, which, however, mentions the law of the Jews (τὸν νόμον οἶδεν τῶν Ἰουδέων), and, as M. S. Reinach has shown, this cannot refer to the Law of Moses, but must refer to the local legislation regulating the affairs of the Jewish community.[9] This epitaph appears to belong to the third century of our era, and it will be observed that the Hebrew bears a Roman name, as evidence of his citizenship. As Dr. Ramsay says, "The Phrygian Jews seem to have abandoned entirely the use of the Hebrew language and names, and it is impossible to identify them from their names alone."[10]

For a period of four hundred years, therefore, we have a succession of allusions to Jewish inhabitants of Phrygia and Galatia. They had received special consideration from the successive rulers of the country; they enjoyed various privileges and exemptions to enable them to follow out their religious customs unhindered; and as late as the third century of the Christian Era their peculiar position was officially recognized and defined by law. There is thus no difficulty in understanding how a Biblical narrative could have become perfectly well known. Not only was it well known, but it appears from the so called Sibylline Oracles that the land of Phrygia was believed to be closely associated with the story of the Deluge of Noah. These Sibylline Oracles are now admitted upon all hands to have been Christian and Jewish compositions, made during the first few centuries of our era for the purpose of familiarising the pagan world with Biblical history and doctrine. It is not quite certain *where* these Oracles were written; but the writers seem to have had a special fondness for the land of Phrygia, which is frequently mentioned in them. Herodotus (ii, 2) tells of the antiquity of this country, and relates how its claims in this respect were confirmed by the investigations of Psammetichus, king of Egypt; but the Sibylline Oracles go further than this, for they claim that, at the creation, Phrygia was the first land to rise from the waters of Chaos. The first book of the Sibylline Oracles describes in much detail the creation of the world and of man. After four races of mortals had been created and then hurled into Tartarus, a race of giants ruled in

[9] "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," by W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., Oxford, 1897, p. 538.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 669.

the earth; all of them being wicked except the patriarch Noah, who alone was faithful, and attentive to good works. Noah was divinely commissioned to preach to the sinful world, for, if they did not repent,

> "Water shall be all over, and all things
> Shall be destroyed by waters. And the winds
> Shall stand still, and a second age shall dawn.
> O Phrygia, from the lofty water first
> To come forth, thou another race of men
> Shall nourish up, as from another new
> Beginning, and shall be a nurse for all."

As, however, this message was scorned, Noah entered into the ark with his wife and sons, and the various living creatures of the earth. The lid was shut down, and, after tossing about on the flood for many days and nights, Noah reopened the lid and gazed around. Twice he released a dove. The second time the bird came back with a branch of olive. He then released a raven; but the black-winged bird flew down to the earth and remained there.

> "There is upon the Phrygian mainland dark
> A steep, tall mountain, Ararat by name,
> Because there all were to be restored;
> And in it there is great and strong desire.
> There the great river Marsyas draws his streams.
> There the ark rested, on the lofty height,
> The waters ceasing. Then again from heaven
> Uttered the holy voice of the great God,
> This word, 'O rescued Noah, faithful, just,
> Come boldly forth with thy sons and thy wife,
> And their young wives, and fill all the earth,
> Increasing, multiplying, rendering justice
> One to another, on from age to age.
> Until to judgment all the race of men
> Comes; for a judgment shall be unto all.'" [11]

[11] "The Sibylline Oracles translated from the Greek into English blank verse." By Milton S. Terry. New York, 1890.

(*To be continued.*)

THE TRANSLITERATION OF EGYPTIAN.

Errata to PROF. DR. LIEBLEIN'S letter, March, 1903.

Page 162,	line 21,	*for* voit *read* voir.
Page 163,	line 13,	*for* une *read* un.
,,	line 22,	*for* donnait *read* donnent pas.
,,	line 33,	*for* une *read* un.
,,	line 38,	*for* a *read* à.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, June 10th, 1903, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Prof. A. H. Sayce: "The Latest Discoveries at Thebes.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
——— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
——— La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
——— La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte.
AMIAUD, A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
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Berlin Museum. Ægyptische Urkunden.
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BISSING, BARON VON, "Metalgefässe" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
BUDGE, E. A. WALLIS, *Litt. D.*, "The Mummy."
——— Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
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CRUM, W. E., "Coptic Monuments" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
DARESSY, G., "Ostraca" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).
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DELITZSCH, Das Babylonische Weltschopfungs Epos.
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JOACHIM, H., Papyros Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
KUSSMETTER, Der Occultesmus des Altertums des Akkader, Babyloner, Chaldaer, &c.
LEDERER, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berücksichtigung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.
LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2me partie. "Osiris."
LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
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MÜLLER, D. H., Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien.
POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennés du Wadi Brissa.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
——— Recherches sur la Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.
SCHOUW, Charta papyracea graece scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
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Society of Biblical Archæology.

37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.,
June 18th, 1903.

GENERAL INDEX TO THE NINE VOLUMES OF "TRANSACTIONS."

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WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A.,
Secretary.

formed us; and Artemas was the name of one of the companions of St. Paul (Titus iii, 11). The coins style the Apameian magistrate "Artemas the third,"[12] that is to say, his father and grandfather were also named Artemas. The name of this Agonothetes appears upon a large variety of bronze coins of all sizes, and bearing the effigies of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Plautilla, and Geta. The reverse types are of various designs, including figures of Zeus, Athena, and Tyche, ears of corn, eagles, lions, etc.

It may, perhaps, be objected that such types would be repugnant to any adherent of the Jewish faith; but Herod the Great struck pieces for circulation in Jerusalem itself, bearing the figure of an eagle. The Jewish kings Agrippa I and Agrippa II put Tyche and Victory upon their coins;[13] and it is therefore not surprising that the Jewish magistrate of a pagan city should have allowed his name to appear upon pagan money bearing figures of Grecian deities, and the other customary symbols of the locality. It is particularly noticeable that some of the coins of Artemas were struck in honour of Plautilla. This lady was the daughter of L. Fulvius Plautianus; and she was married to Caracalla in A.D. 202. The union appears to have been a popular one, as many of the cities of the Roman Empire celebrated the event by the issue of coins bearing the names and figures of Caracalla and the new empress. The next year, however, Plautianus was detected in a conspiracy, and he was immediately executed, and his daughter divorced. It would therefore appear that in the year 202 public games were exhibited in Apameia. We do not know whether these games were the periodical festivals of the city, or of the community (Κοινόν) of Phrygia; but at any rate they coincided with the public rejoicings at the nuptials of Plautilla and Caracalla. A wealthy and well-descended in-

[12] It is to be observed that the Γ is attached to the name Ἄρτεμας not to Ἀγωνοθέτης; so the inscription cannot be read as implying that he was Agonothetes for the third time. Moreover, the numeral occurs on pieces which omit the title. For instance, a small brass piece preserved at Paris, having on the obverse the busts of Caracalla and Plautilla facing, has on the reverse the inscription ΕΠΙ ΑΡΤΕΜΑ Γ ΑΠΑΜΕΙϹ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΦΡΥΓΙΑϹ, with the type of an eagle.

[13] "Coins of the Jews," by Frederic W. Madden, London, 1881, pp. 114, 133–152. Mr. Madden was at first unwilling to assign the eagle coins to Herod the Great; but M. de Saulcy proved so clearly that these pieces are found in Jerusalem and nowhere else, that the English numismatist was fully convinced that they could only have been issued by Herod.

dividual named Artemas was elected president of these games; and, in order to signalise the occasion, this agonothetes caused a large number of coins to be struck and distributed among the population. Wishing to give a remarkable reverse for some of the more important pieces, the artist had recourse to the tradition of the Noachian deluge, which had long been associated with that locality by the Jewish residents in the neighbourhood.

Sixteen years later these coins were again issued, in the name of the Emperor Macrinus, but with no indication of the magistrate responsible.

When, however, Philip I was elevated to the imperial dignity, Marcus Aurelius Alexander again struck large brass coins with the figure of Noah on the reverse; besides other pieces of smaller size and with various types, in honour of Otacilia and the two Philips. Marcus Aurelius Alexander describes himself as Ἀρχιερεύς, or Chief Priest; and it appears that Phrygian Jews frequently officiated as priests in the temples dedicated to the Emperors. Dr. Ramsay[14] tells us that:—

> "The Akmonian and Ancyran families of Julius Severus and Servenius Cornutus were also Jewish; and of course Kar. Akyl[l]ia, wife of Julius Severus, was a Jewess. Incidentally we notice from the inscriptions relating to members of these families that they held priesthoods in the cultus of the emperors; but it was, doubtless, compulsory on those who wished to engage in the imperial service, that they should freely accept the forms of that cultus, for it would have been a mark of disloyalty, disqualifying an officer, to refuse to participate in the established forms. This marks a very significant difference from the old Jewish spirit, and shows that the circumstances amid which the Phrygian Jews lived had affected them greatly; there can be no doubt that they had identified their interests with those of their new country, and had become as completely Romans and Asians, as persons of Jewish descent in England now reckon themselves English, and in France French. Prof. E. Schürer has pointed out into what strange forms the Jewish customs had degenerated at Thyatira; and we need not wonder that the Akmonian Jews became magistrates and agonothetai, and high priests of the imperial cultus."

[14] "Cities and Bishoprics," p. 650.

Consequently, all available evidence tends to prove that these coins we have been considering were all issued by Græcised Jews, whose wealth and position in the country led to their being elected as magistrates of the city; and whose religious pride induced them to commemorate in this popular manner the legendary association of Apameia Cibotus with the Deluge of Noah.

Seeing that these pieces of money bear the figures of the Hebrew patriarch and his consort, the raven and the olive-bearing dove; and, above all other things, the word ΝΩΕ, there can be no possible dispute that they were intended to illustrate the Biblical story. Moreover, the designers of the coin must have drawn their inspiration chiefly from the Greek Septuagint translation, for the name of the patriarch is given in its Septuagint form of Νῶε; whereas Josephus wrote it Νῶχος, which more exactly renders the Hebrew נֹחַ. Notwithstanding this certain fact, however, it has been suggested that there may have existed some indigenous tradition of a diluvial catastrophe which contributed something to the choice of this coin-type, and influenced the Jewish settlers in transferring the scene of a Biblical narrative to the land of Phrygia; and the earlier commentators upon these pieces of money were so anxious to connect them with the classical story of Deucalion, that they remained strangely blind to the name of Noah, which is so conspicuous a feature of the design.[15]

It is true that industrious persons have collected from various lands a large number of more or less authentic examples of stories analogous to that of the Biblical Deluge; and it has been argued that the recollection of such an event has been preserved in nearly every part of the world. But this claim for a universality of the diluvial tradition is really a most startling one. When we consider the vast differences of language, temperament, tradition, custom, and modes of thought among the races of mankind; and when we observe how these diversities tend to widen as time rolls on, it is extremely difficult to credit that one single episode should be in direct contrast to everything else we know, and should be capable of being everywhere transmitted in recognizable form, while all beside has suffered complete alteration. Furthermore, in a great many cases these deluge stories have the appearance of being recent

[15] See especially "Archæologia," Vol. IV, 1786.

importations rather than ancient traditions. Andree[16] mentions that Moffat, the South African missionary, gives a striking example, which came under his own notice, of the rapid and easy manner in which tales and Biblical histories were conveyed by travellers, missionaries, and settlers, and penetrated among the Hottentots with less or more modifications, and thus falsified the native folklore. Moffat had never found a story of the Deluge among the races of South Africa with which he had come in contact, until a Namáqua told him such a story and he noted it down. He soon suspected, however, that it was not genuine, but was influenced by the Biblical narrative, though the Namáqua assured him that he had heard it from his forefathers, and had never met a missionary. Nevertheless, Moffat had been imposed upon, for he afterwards became acquainted with the missionary from whom that particular Hottentot had received the story.[17] This anecdote will tend to illustrate the difficulties that beset the whole theory of a universal tradition of the Deluge. As a general rule, it is only after savage or semi-civilized peoples have been for some time in contact with European missionaries, settlers, and adventurers, that it is discovered that a legend is current among them bearing analogy to the Noachian catastrophe. In addition to this, folklore and comparative mythology have not yet entirely eliminated the old mediæval idea that the traditions of heathendom ought to be found to conceal a dim reminiscence of the narratives of the Book of Genesis. Consequently, zeal rather than discretion has occasionally characterized the laborious compilers of tales of inundation. These considerations, therefore, will prevent our assuming too hastily that the native Phrygians ought necessarily to have possessed any tradition analogous to that of the Biblical flood. In fact, the hint of such a tradition is not to be found before Stephen of Byzantium, a Christian writer of the sixth century, who gives the following narrative, under the heading of Ἰκόνιον :—

> "They say that there was formerly a king named Annacus, the extent of whose life was above three hundred years. The people round about inquired of an oracle how long he was to live, and the answer was that when Annacus died all mankind

[16] "Die Flutsagen. Ethnographisch betrachtet" von Richard Andree. Braunschweig, 1891, p. 51.

[17] See Robert Moffat, "Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa." London, 1842, p. 126.

would be destroyed. The Phrygians hearing this made great lamentations, from which arose the proverb τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀννακοῦ κλαύσειν, the lamentation for Annacus, used for those who were in great grief. When the flood of Deucalion came, all mankind was destroyed."[18]

The fact that this story is only known to us from so late an authority is sufficient to discredit its claim to be an authentic tradition of antiquity; not to mention that, as Buttmann has pointed out, king Annacus, with his reign of over three hundred years, is merely a repetition of the patriarch Enoch, who was translated at the similar age of three hundred and sixty-five.[19] So that in this case also we have not to deal with a native tradition, but with a story transferred by Christian or Jewish piety from the pages of the Bible to a city of Galatia.

If the countries of Asia Minor had had any predilection for the legend of the Deluge, it was of course perfectly possible for them to have derived it directly from its primeval home in Babylonia (for, since the discovery and decipherment of the Babylonian narrative of *Ṣît-napištim* 𒊩𒌋𒉡𒀀𒋗𒀭𒊏𒁉, the famous Eleventh Episode in the adventures of Gilgames, there has been no doubt as to the original source of the diluvial tradition). The disseminat on from this source, however, appears to have been an extremely slow one. To the eastward, for example, although there are four legends of a Flood in Hindu literature, they are all of comparatively late date. The ancient Vedas have no knowledge of such a catastrophe; and it was not until the *Satapatha Brâhmana* was written that it obtained a footing in India. Eugène Burnouf pretty clearly established the essentially foreign character of the Hindu stories of a Deluge, and convinced even M. François Lenormant that they were all due to Semitic importation within historic times.[20]

To the westward it may be said that we have the classical legends of the flood of Ogyges, and the flood of Deucalion. Neither of these can claim any great antiquity. Those fathers of Greek history and mythology, Homer and Hesiod, are quite silent upon

[18] "On some Coins of Septimius Severus, Macrinus, and Philip I." By F. W. Madden. *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, Vol. VI. London, 1866, p. 211.

[19] "La Tradition phrygienne du Déluge." Par E. Babelon. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Tome XXIII. Paris, 1891, p. 180.

[20] "The Beginnings of History." By François Lenormant. Translated by Francis Brown. London, 1882, p. 422.

the subject of a deluge; nor does such a narrative appear to have inspired the chisel or brush of any ancient artist, so far as is known. Unless, therefore, we are in a position to prove that the two legends in question were widely accepted before the time of the Jewish settlement in Phrygia, it will be somewhat presumptuous to argue that there can be any pre-Judaic diluvial tradition in Asia Minor.

As regards the Flood of Ogyges, we only know of this through Eusebius, who derived it from the Christian writer, Sextus Julius Africanus, the friend of Origen.[21] It would thus appear to be a modern story attached to the name of one of the old mythical kings of Greece. Varro (*de Re Rusticâ*, III, 1) is sometimes quoted as an authority; but all he says is that Thebes was built by Ogyges before the deluge.

As regards the flood of Deucalion, the Roman poet Ovid is usually adduced for testimony, and it is somewhat uncritically assumed that, because Ovid makes certain statements about this hero, the whole legend existed from antiquity in that particular form. The first mention of the name of Deucalion is to be found in Herodotus (II, 56), who, however, gives no details of his story; and it is the poet Pindar who furnishes us with an account of the myth of Deucalion as it existed in 500 B.C. The Ninth Pindaric Ode is in honour of Epharmostus of Opus,[22] who won the prize for wrestling in the Olympic games; and in the course of it Pindar thus refers to the principal legend connected with the native city of the athlete:—

> "Bring thy words to the city of Protogeneia, where by decree of Zeus of the bickering lightning flash, Pyrrha and Deukalion coming down from Parnassos first fixed their home, and without bed of marriage made out of stones a race to be one folk: and hence cometh the name of peoples.
>
> "Awake for them the clear-toned gale of song, and if old wine be best, yet among songs prefer the newer flowers.
>
> "Truly, men say that once a mighty water swept over the

[21] Eusebii, *Prep. Evangel.* X, 10.

[22] Ὄπουν, "the city of Protogeneia," was the capital of one of the Locrian tribes, and was believed to be one of the most ancient towns in Greece. It was said to have been founded by Opus, the son of Locrus and Protogeneia; and in its neighbourhood Deucalion and Pyrrha are reported to have resided. It is mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue as one of the Locrian towns subject to Ajax Oileus (Il. ii, 531).

dark earth, but by the craft of Zeus an ebb suddenly drew off the flood. From these first men came anciently your ancestors of the brazen shields." [23]

In reading this Ode it is first especially necessary to note what it does *not* say. It gives no indication that Deucalion and Pyrrha had any existence before the waters swept over the dark earth. It does not say that Zeus *sent* the waters. It does not mention the existence of a boat, or the drowning of men and animals. In fact, it is obviously a Creation Legend. The waters that swept over the dark earth must be the waters of Chaos; and by the craft of Zeus they were drained off, and left the firm land. Into this desolate waste Deucalion and Pyrrha descended from Parnassus, and from stones, without bed of marriage, they produced the race of mankind.[24] The myth of the origin of man was most probably a folk-etymology suggested by the similarity between the words λαός = people, and λᾶας = stone.

Thus far, therefore, we have the indigenous Greek story of Deucalion. Aristotle (*Meteor.* I, 14) understands him to have been concerned with a freshet of the river Achelous at Dodona. But the next time Deucalion appears in literature, three centuries after Pindar, his legend has undergone great transformation. He is no longer merely the progenitor of the race of men after the ocean of Chaos has been drained off the earth; but he is the hero of a detailed adventure analogous to that of the Babylonian *Ṣit-napištim.* We owe this fresh presentation to Apollodorus of Athens, who wrote somewhere about the year 115 B.C. Apollodorus tells how Zeus was offended at the conduct of the men of the Age of Bronze, and determined to destroy them. Deucalion, however, is warned of the coming catastrophe by his father Prometheus; and he therefore makes a large chest and furnishes it with provisions. He then gets into it, together with his wife Pyrrha, who is now represented as the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora: Pandora having been the first woman created by the gods. So that here, again, the legend connects itself with the origin of mankind. Zeus inundates the whole earth with the flood; but Deucalion in his chest floats upon

[23] "The Extant Odes of Pindar." By Ernest Myers, M.A. London, 1874, p. 33.

[24] "Die Sintflut und die Flutsagen des Alterthums." Von Prof. Ludwig Diestel. Berlin, 1871, p. 23.

the water, and drifts about for nine days and nine nights, stranding at last upon the top of Parnassus. When the rain abates he gets out of his chest, and offers sacrifice to Zeus Phyxios. Zeus tells him and his wife to throw stones behind them, and thus the world is repeopled.[25] The Roman poet Ovid (43–17 B.C.) merely repeated the story of Apollodorus with a few poetical embellishments. And the author of the treatise "Of the Syrian Goddess" (usually attributed to Lucian of Samosata, about 200 A.D.) gives a version of the flood of Deucalion very closely resembling that of Noah. As, however, the hero of his story bears the name of Deucalion-Sisythes, it seems obvious that the details are derived from the legend of Xisuthros related by the Chaldean priest Berosus.

When, therefore, the development of the myth of Deucalion is properly followed out, it is obvious that it was not until a comparatively late period that the Græco-Roman world adopted the story of the deluge, and wove it into the classical mythology. The first certain traces of it are to be found in Apollodorus, who flourished at least half a century after the first settlement of the Jews in Phrygia and Galatia. It is therefore demanding too much to ask us to believe that there was any definite tradition of such a catastrophe in Asia Minor previous to the Hebrew settlement. Consequently, we are brought to the conviction that the interest in the Noachian Deluge was first imported into Phrygia by the Jewish immigrants in the time of Antiochus the Great; that the coins of Apameia Cibotus are solely inspired by the narrative in Genesis; and that they thus form the earliest numismatic illustration of an undoubtedly Biblical subject.

[25] Apollodori *Bibliotheca*, I, 7.

SOME EGYPTIAN ARAMAIC DOCUMENTS.

BY A. COWLEY, *M.A.*

(*Continued from page* 208.)

NOTES ON THE NAMES IN THE PAPYRUS.

By G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

I first give brief notes on the individual names: I will then add some remarks on the complexion of the entire group.

יתמא (l. 1) follows בר, and is probably a proper name. יתמא means *orphan;* cp. Heb. יתוֹם, Syr. ܝܬܝܡܐ, Arab. يَتِيم. Such a meaning for a proper name is not at all improbable; it would have tolerably close analogies in names which mean *first-born*, *twin*, *posthumous* (see Nöldeke, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, §61–63). But there is no other clear example of a name actually meaning *orphan*. Nöldeke (*Encyc. Bibl.*, 3285, top) has suggested that יותם may possibly mean *orphan;* and it is also worth considering whether the original name of a Moabite who figures as יתמה in the list of David's mighty men (1 Chr. xi, 46) may not have been יִתְּם.[1]

In the Mishnah יתמה occurs as the name of a village ('Orlah, ii, 5).

עקבן. The root עקב is not uncommonly employed in proper names both simple and compound. עַקּוּב (? = *posthumous*) is the name of several persons mentioned in Chr., Ezra, and Neh. A similar later Jewish name is עוקבא or עוקבן (see Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, *s.v.* עקובה). Verbal forms from the root occur in

[1] The ה in יתמה may be dittographic, and instead of יתמה המואבי the original text may have run יתם המואבי; cp. Lucian's reading, Ἰεθαμ ὁ Μωαβίτης; but other Greek readings are Ἰεθεμα, Ἐθεμα.

the Biblical יעקב, the late Jewish עקביה, the Palmyrene בלעקב (de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, xx, 3) and עתעקב (*ib.*, xxxii, 2). Cp. further the Arabic names عَقَبَة and عُقَيب; also the early South Arabian name 'Aḳibu (Hommel, *Altisr. Ueberlieferung*, 83).

שמשנורי, *Shemesh* (*the sun*) *is my light.* The ancient and wide-spread worship of the sun is reflected in a number of names both of places, such as Beth-shemesh, En-shemesh, and of persons, such as the Phœnician אדנשמש, the Aramaic שמשעדרי.[2] Among the Palmyrene names there are several compounds with שמש, and parallels both to the second element and to the structure of the present name are found in the Palmyrene עתנורי, '*Athe is my light*,[3] a variant of which is עתנור (without the suffix). Another instance of the use of נור is found in the Palmyrene נורבל (cp. the corresponding but different נר which occurs in the Biblical names אבנר, נריה), and another instance of the use of the suffix with the *second* element of a compound proper name is the Aramaic שמשעדרי, *Shemesh is my ? help* (*C.I.S.*, ii, 87); see further below under יהדרי.

קצרי. Possibly an abbreviated name; cp. the various Biblical names ending in *-î* (*Encyc. Bibl.*, 3292). The root has various meanings.

יהדרי. Obviously a compound name. The final letter is pretty clearly י, and the name another instance of the use of the suffix in the final element of a compound. Where the first element ends and the second begins is uncertain. (1) In the script of the papyrus *d* and *r* are practically indistinguishable, and the name may equally well be read יהדדי. In this case we might divide the name into דדי and יהה: then the second element would be the דד or דוד (*uncle*), which appears in a few Biblical, Aramaic, and Himyaritic names[4] (אלדד, בלדד, דדיה; דדעלה; דדכרב), and יהה would be a hitherto unknown divine name. If read יהדרי, the name נבדרי (*Nebo is my dwelling*) might be compared; but this name, though it occurs in an Aramaic inscription (*C.I.S.* ii, 42), is

[2] For further examples and references, see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, p. 379. For place-names see *Encyc. Bibl.*, "Names," § 95.

[3] סרנרי in an Aramaic inscription (*C.I.S.*, xxxix, 6) is an Assyrian name (Sarru-nuri).

[4] On these names see my *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (hereafter abbreviated *H.P.N.*), 60–63.

Assyrian. (2) The alternative is to divide the name into הדרי and יה, and interpret, יה *is my majesty*. In this case cp. the Biblical names of somewhat similar meaning, הודיה (cp. אביהוד, אחיהוד, עמיהוד), *my splendour is Yahweh*, and יוכבד, *Yahweh is glory*. But if יהדרי is really a compound with יה (*Yahweh*), it presents more than one peculiarity when compared with the Biblical (Palestinian) compounds with יה: (*a*) The occurrence of a new name with יה *prefixed* in the post-exilic period would be very exceptional (*H.P.N.*, 158–163). (*b*) Either יה was pronounced *Yah* in יהדרי (and this at the beginning of a compound would be unparalleled), or it was pronounced, as in the Biblical names, *Yeho*; in this case the omission of ו after the ה would be most unusual. On certain Jewish coins the name יונתן is written ינתן (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 86 ff.); otherwise the initial forms of the divine name regularly used alike in the Hebrew Bible and in inscriptions (Lidzbarski, 286) are יהו and יו; the exceptional forms יֵהוא and יֵשוע are not parallel to the present use. (*c*) The use of the suffix in the final element of the compound has a doubtful parallel in the Biblical אלעזי (cp. *H.P.N.*, p. 304, No. 34 with footnote): on the other hand, in none of the remaining thirty-eight Biblical names with אל prefixed, and in none of the seventy-nine names to which יה, אב, or אח is prefixed, is the second element a noun with a suffix. In the present group of names this feature has a parallel in שמשנורי.

מחסיה. The name of the grandfather of two contemporaries of Jeremiah, and therefore a Palestinian Jewish name used in the seventh century B.C. (Jer. xxxii, 12; li, 59). The name also occurs on the Berlin ostrakon.

ידניה. The same name probably occurs on the British Museum ostraka (from Egypt), though in *C.I.S.*, ii, 138, A3, the letters (וידניה) are not treated as containing a proper name. Both in form and meaning the name resembles well-known names:—(1) Meaning: cp. the Biblical דניאל, which is also Nabatæan (*C.I.S.*, ii, 258) and Palmyrene (de Vogüé, xciii, 3). Render: *Yahweh judges*. (2) Form: cp. יכניה. *Personal* names in which an imperfect precedes a divine name are comparatively uncommon, and occur mostly in and after the seventh century B.C. (*H.P.N.*, 215–218).

מלכיה. The name of two contemporaries of Jeremiah and nine

other persons mentioned later (in Chr., Ezra, and Neh.); see *H.P.N.*, p. 294, No. 79, and p. 118 ff.

זכריה. The name of nearly thirty persons mentioned in the O.T. Three of these lived in the eighth century B.C.; the rest either lived after the Exile or are mentioned only in Chr., Ezra, and Neh.; *H.P.N.*, p. 288, No. 27.

גמריה. The name of two of Jeremiah's contemporaries.

אחיו. The name of two persons mentioned in the O.T. (2 Sam. vi, 3; 1 Chr. viii, 31). One was a contemporary of David. יו is a comparatively rare form of יהוה at the end of compounds, but occurs elsewhere, especially on old Hebr. *intaglios*; cp. אביו, חלקיו, עזיו, עזריו, עשיו, שבניו; for references see Lidzbarski; see also Nöldeke, in *Encyc. Bibl.* ("Names," § 25); Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'Archéologie* (1896), § 25.

Leaving יתניא out of consideration, we have ten names to consider, those namely of four witnesses and their fathers, and of the scribe and his father.

1. Six at least of these ten names contain the name Yahweh, five of the six actually occur in the O.T., two of them (Zechariah and Malchiah) are names particularly common among the Jews from the time of Jeremiah onwards. Clearly then we have to do here with *Jewish names.* We cannot indeed infer with *certainty* that *all* the names are Jewish; it is possible, if יהדרי does not contain the name Yahweh, that the first two signatories were not Jews. It may in particular be observed that each man whose name is compounded with יה is the son of a man with a similar name, whereas each man whose name is not compounded with יה is likewise the son of a man from whose name יה is absent (if יהדרי does not contain יה). But this is in accordance with a tendency (to which I have elsewhere drawn attention—*H.P.N.*, p. 8 f.) to perpetuate names of the same type in the same family. It is in any case at least equally probable that all ten names (and not only the last six) are Jewish, and it is worth while to consider the group on the hypothesis that it is homogeneous. Some of the following remarks will start from this hypothesis.

2. Of the six certain compounds with יה, five were already current among the Jews in Palestine in or before the time of Jeremiah. The remaining name (ידניה) resembles in form and meaning Palestinian names of the same (though scarcely of a much earlier) period. We may safely infer then that so far as names

compounded with יה are concerned, these Aramaic-speaking Jews of Egypt were for the most part content to draw on a stock of traditional names brought by their ancestors from Palestine, instead of creating new ones. Yet occasionally they created new compounds with יה, if יהדרי be such, for it is not formed according to Palestinian models. In the great (if not exclusive) preference for names in which יה is the final and not the initial element, these Jews resembled the post-exilic Palestinian Jews.

3. The entire absence of compounds with אל is interesting. The comparative preference for compounds with יה to compounds with אל was at its height among the Palestinian Jews in the seventh century B.C.; compounds with אל began to grow in favour again in Palestine after the Exile (*H.P.N.*, 256).

4. In the small proportion of simple to compound names contained in it, this group resembles groups of Palestinian names from the seventh century onwards, but differs from groups of earlier Hebrew names, markedly from the names for example of the Davidic Period (*H. P. N.*, 183–187).

5. The existence in a group of Egyptian Jewish names of one or two names (שמשנורי and ? יהדדי) containing the names of heathen deities need not surprise us in view of what is known of the origin of the Jewish community in Egypt. A few even of the captives in Babylon who retained their Jewish connection appear to have adopted such names.[5] But it is interesting to observe that the unusual form of these names suggests that they were coined in Egypt or borrowed from a (? heathen) source different from that whence the compounds with יה were drawn.

6. The resemblances to Palmyrene names pointed out above (especially under שמשנורי) may have no significance; but they are worth considering in connection with a similar resemblance, which I have pointed out elsewhere (*H.P.N.*, 223), between a group of Palmyrene and post-exilic Jewish names (the compounds with זבד).

[5] See *H.P.N.*, 145; also *Expository Times*, x, 232 f.

OSTRAKA.

Ostrakon I. (From Elephantine, belonging to Prof. Sayce.)

Convex Side.

1. כענת . . . . . הנהרי
2. למל[כי]ה מרי למכתבה אן כזי
3. תשמעון לאמר זשריך יהבן פרס
4. בסון שלחא עלי חזי נחת קפירא
5. זי היתת בין הושרוהי לי וקפרא זי
6. הושרת לכם מן קפירא
7. וקפירא רבא זי יהב
8. לם מלכיה הושרי
9. הוי לה

Concave Side.

1. כענת חזו חנתא זי יהב לי אוריה לנסכא
2. הביה לגמריה בר אחיו ויערבה מן
3. שכרא ובלוה לאוריא אן חזי תטוסרי
4. וילן יכתבוה על דרעה עלא מן כתבתא
5. זי על דרעה הלו כן שלח לאמר זי
6. לא ישכחן עלימתה
7. מכתבה על
8. שמה

Convex.

L. 1. Most of the first line is obliterated. The second word may perhaps be [ס[פרא. At the end perhaps הנאה די. The די or רי may possibly belong to the line below.

L. 2. מדי or מרי. For כזי Prof. Sayce suggests חזי, and compares אן חזי in line 3 of the concave side, but כ is more probable.

L. 3. זשריך is very doubtful. The ז is more like the word-divider in line 4 of the papyrus. The ך may be a ף. Prof. Sayce suggests אשריך or אשביך, in which case the א is made as in the papyrus and not as in the ostraka.

L. 4. בסון is clear. סון also occurs in Ostrakon IV, l. 5, not סרן as in *C.I.S.* For שלחא Prof. Sayce reads שלחו. Prof. Margoliouth reads שלמא עלא. קפירא here and in ll. 6 and 7, and קפרא in l. 5, are fairly clear. The first letter seems to be a ק, though its form is different from that in the papyrus. The word is then unintelligible. Perhaps it may be a ס, but in that case it is quite different from that in בסון, and it seems unlikely that two forms would be used in one line.

L. 5. בין is written over a flaw in the earthenware. The ב is fairly certain. The word may possibly be בידי or ביד.

הושרוהי here, הושרת in l. 6, הושרי in l. 8 and in Ostrakon V, l. 5, are apparently from ישר, in the sense of "ratifying" a document. The use of הושרת in l. 6 is in favour of reading וספרא in this line.

L. 6. לכם מן are very uncertain. The כ might be a ו or even a ס. In מן the letters are run together. It would be possible to divide them so as to read נד or נר.

In קפירא the first letter is less like a ס than in the other forms. It would be unusually broadened even for ק, and there seems to be a space after it. It might perhaps be read יד כירא, or as some part of דכר.

L. 8. הושרי, the י is written above the ר for want of space.

Traces of the under writing can be seen between ll. 1 and 2, the word לאמר, and between ll. 4 and 5, the words זו גמריה. There are traces elsewhere, but they are not legible.

CONCAVE.

L. 1. חזו, the ז is very like that in l. 3 of the convex. לנסכא, the א is written above the line.

L. 3. ובלוה, *cf.* Ezra iv, 13, etc.

לאוריא, the final א is clear.

תטוסרי, the first letter is undoubtedly a ת. We should expect פ. The וס are run together, and the ס has a curious form, but they are no doubt to be so read. The רי is written above the line.

L. 4. וילן, the reading is fairly certain in the original. The last letter might be a ך or ף. In the facsimile the word is more like הלף or הלן; הלו is hardly possible.

L. 5. זי at the beginning might be זא.

L. 7. מכתבה, the last letter is actually a נ, but no doubt ה is meant, and the inside stroke has been omitted by mistake.

The two sides clearly relate to different matters, but what is the subject of either is very uncertain. Prof. Sayce suggests that the concave side refers to the mixing of a potion.

(*To be continued.*)

GILGAMEŠ.

By Prof. A. H. Sayce, *LL.D.*, *&c.*

The question raised by Dr. Pinches as to whether Gilgameš "was regarded as the seventh of a succession of great men," reminds me of a passage in Ovid (*Metaph.* iv, 213), in which it is said of Orchamus: "isque Septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo." The first syllable of the name of Gilgameš is sometimes represented by the ideographs which denote the name of the Fire-god, and since the Semitic pronunciation of the name of the Fire-god, [illegible], is said, in W.A.I. II, 47, 61, to have been Ur-ru, it is possible to read the name of the Babylonian hero Ur(ru)-ga-mis. The various forms of the name quoted by Dr Pinches illustrate the method employed in Sumerian to represent names and words phonetically, which I have endeavoured to explain in my Hibbert Lectures on Babylonian Religion; [illegible], for instance, being *ga*, [illegible] *gil* and *gi*, and [illegible] *wil* and *il*.

COPTIC TEXTS RELATING TO DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA.

By W. E. Crum.

The first series of fragments here edited is interesting as including a remnant of a Coptic counterpart to that *Life of Dioscorus*, the Syriac version of which is being published in the *Journal asiatique* by M. Nau.[1] What is printed here is however but the copy of a copy. The originals, no longer, I fear, traceable, were seen and transcribed, somewhere about 1845, by Arthur Des Rivières;[2] they were papyrus leaves, once in the celebrated Harris collection. These transcripts were subsequently acquired by the Royal Library at Munich, where they are numbered "MS. Copt. No. 3."[3] Des Rivières gives no description of the leaves copied; and their relations one to another are indicated but vaguely when at all. A connection among the originals of those copies here in question may perhaps be inferred from the fact that their copyist has given them consecutive numbers in his portfolio. In rearranging the leaves here, I have followed, for the group A, the corresponding texts in the *Panegyric on Macarius of Tkoou*,[4] and for the group B, those in the Syriac *Life of Dioscorus*, both these works having apparently been represented in the volume whence our leaves came —though it remains indeed a mere assumption that these did all come from a single volume. It is likewise but an assumption based upon the remaining pagination, that the fragment here placed first in A belongs to the *Panegyric* at all; the extant Bohairic version certainly shows no such passage.

A—Leaf LXVIII, paged 5, 6.—Preface to *Panegyric* (?).
LXXIII, fol. 1 of 2d quire, *i.e. ca.* p. 20 = *Miss.* IV. 98.
LXIX, = „ 119.

[1] *Journ. as.*, X^e série, I (1903) pp. 5–108; 241–310.

[2] Other papers by him at Munich are dated 1844–46 (*v.* Halm-Aumer, *Verz. der or. Hss.* I, iv, 101, 103). The copies of Des R. have furnished M. Maspero with the fragments of the Psalter published in his *Etudes* I, 266 ff.

[3] *V.* Lagarde's short description in Aumer, *l.c.*, 99.

[4] *Mission française*, IV, 92 ff.

B—Leaf XCVI,	=	Syriac *Life*,	§ 11.
XCVII	appears to belong here.		
LXX, paged 309, 310	=	Syriac *Life*,	§ 13.
LXXXIII,	=	,,	§ 17.
LXXII,	=	,,	§ 18.
LXXI, paged 357, 358	=	,,	§ 19.
XCII,	=	,,	last § (?).

As regards the two other fragments relative to Dioscorus here printed or translated, the first, no. 8084 of the Cairo Museum, is from a parchment MS. of about the 13th century; the rhetorical style points perhaps to an Encomium. The second, of which Zoega (no. clxv) has already printed the text, may, on palæographical grounds, be placed one or two centuries earlier.

By the same scribe as this last is a small fragment in the British Museum (Or. 3581 B, 41), bearing the figures $\overline{\text{ⲕⲃ}}$. If this is a quire-number, its page should be about 340 or 350. But the incident it narrates (the prophecy of the hermit John and its false transmission by the Nestorians) is clearly connected with that on pp. 251, 252 of Zoega's fragment of the same MS. It is therefore difficult to fit this into either of the versions which we at present know. Zoega's text has the appearance of an Encomium, but its nature cannot definitely be decided.[5]

I should add that Des Rivières' copies are frequently obscure, leaving the proper readings quite doubtful. I regret that I did not however copy all his texts, but, in the case of some of the smallest fragments, merely made translations from them.

LXVIII. P. $\overline{\text{ⲉ}}$

ⲙⲛⲁⲛⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉⲭⲱⲣⲏⲅⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ [ϩ]ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ
ⲙⲡⲉⲡⲁⲣⲟⲓⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲅⲕⲱⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉϥⲥⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲣ̣ⲟ̣ϥ̣ ϩ̣ⲱ̣ϥ̣
ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲡⲧⲁⲓ̣ⲟ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ [ϩⲓ]ⲧⲏⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ
ⲛⲁⲓ [ⲉⲧϥ]ⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲣⲉϥ[ϯ ⲅ]ⲁⲣ ⲉϥⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛϩⲏⲧ (?)
[ⲉⲣⲉⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ [. . .]ⲛ ϩⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉⲛⲛⲉ [. . . . . .]ⲟⲥ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ [. . . . . .]ⲕ̣ⲉ̣ . . . ⲣ̣ⲏ̣

P. $\overline{\text{ϛ}}$

ⲙⲛⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲛⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲓⲟⲥⲕⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲛϯⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ
ⲉⲛⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲗⲁⲩⲉⲓⲗ ⲉⲛⲭⲱ
ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡϥⲃⲱⲕ ϩⲙⲡϣⲟⲭⲛⲉ

[5] Krall's text (*Mitth. Rain.* iv, 63 ff.) differs from these in having Dioscorus himself as narrator.

ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲉⲙⲡϥⲁϩⲉ ⲣⲁⲧϥ ϩⲓⲧⲉϩⲓⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲉϥⲣⲏⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲙⲡϥϩ-
ⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲧⲕⲁⲑⲉⲇⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲗⲟⲓⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉ[ⲣⲉⲡⲉϥⲟⲩ]ⲱ[ϣ]
ϣ[ⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ]

LXXIII. P. ? (1st folio of qu. ⲃ̄.)

[ϫⲉϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟ]ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϩ[ⲙⲡϩⲟ] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ
ⲁⲓϩ[ⲱⲛ] ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲓⲙⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ ϫⲉϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲣⲟϥ·
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲏϫⲱⲟ̣ⲩ̣ⲛ̣ ⲉ[ⲃⲟⲗ] ϩⲛⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲛ[ⲁⲩ] ⲛⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲁϥⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ
ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁ ϩⲓⲛϫⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲉϥⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲓ[ⲛ]ⲕⲟⲧⲕ ϩⲱⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲛⲁ-
ϣⲏⲣⲉ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛⲧⲡⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩϣⲏ ⲛϭⲓ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲕⲣⲏⲥ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣ⲟ̣ⲕ̣
[ⲇⲉ] ⲁⲓⲙⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁ[ⲓ]▒
[ⲥⲃⲧ]ⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲛ [ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ] ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲏⲓ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϥ
ϫⲉⲉⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ [ⲧⲱⲛ] ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟ[ⲓ][6] ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ
[ϩ]ⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ϯⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲓ
[ⲡ]ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲉⲣⲉⲙⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲉⲛⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲏ ϩⲱⲱⲛ
ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ ⲉϩⲉⲛⲕ̣ⲗ̣ⲟⲙ ⲉⲩⲡⲣⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩ . . . . ⲉⲩϩⲓϫⲓⲧⲉⲛ-
[ⲁⲡ]ⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲏ ⲁⲓϭⲱϣⲧ [ⲟⲛ] ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲓⲥⲟⲥ [ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓ]ⲉ-
[ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ]

LXIX.

[. . . . . .]ⲡⲟⲩⲁ[. . . .] [. . . . . .]ⲥ ⲡⲉ[. . . .] ⲡⲟⲩⲁ
ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲏⲟϭ ⲙⲛⲟⲣⲧ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲏⲟϭ ⲏϥⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲉ-
ⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ϫⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥⲕⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲧ ϫⲉⲁⲛⲅⲏⲓⲙ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲓ
ϫⲉⲛϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉⲛⲧⲉⲧⲏⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲓ ϫⲉⲁⲛⲟⲕⲡⲉ
ⲓⲱϩⲁ[ⲛ]ⲏⲛⲥ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲍⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲗⲓⲥⲁⲃⲏⲧ
ⲧⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲕ[ⲏⲁⲩ
ⲙⲙ]ⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲟϥⲡⲉ ⲉⲗ[ⲓⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ] ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ [ⲁⲩ]ⲱ ⲁϥϯ-
[ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϫⲛ]▒
ⲛⲣⲙ[ⲧⲕⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ]ⲡⲉϥⲥ̣ⲱ̣[ⲙⲁ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ] ϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲛⲉⲛⲕ̣[ⲉⲉⲥ]
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ [ⲇⲉ] ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲙⲡϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ ⲁⲓⲙⲉϩⲥⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲁ[ⲓⲧⲁ]-
ⲟⲩⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲣⲟⲙⲁ ⲉⲣ[ⲟϥ] ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲅⲏⲓⲙ
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲁ[ⲟⲩ]ⲱϩ ϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲛⲕⲉⲉ[ⲥ ⲙ]ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲇⲣⲟ-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲡⲉ[ⲛⲧⲁ]ⲡⲉⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛϩⲛⲗⲉⲓ̣ⲁ̣[ⲥ ⲕ]ⲱⲃ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ

[6] So Boh. Not space for ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ.

ⲉϫⲱ[ϥ ⲛ]ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲉⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲛ[ⲉⲕⲣⲟ ⲁ]ϥⲟⲩⲏϩ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲛ [ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲉⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲛ[ⲁ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ] ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉϥ[ϩⲃⲟⲟⲥ]

LXX. P. ⲧⲟ̅, 1st fol. of quire ⲕⲁ̅.

ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲩⲟ ⲛⲏⲉⲓⲩⲁϫⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲛⲏⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲫⲏⲗⲟⲩⲟⲩⲃ
ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲓⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩϥ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲉ [ⲁⲛ]-
ⲛⲟⲩϩⲓ · ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲛⲛⲟϩ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲧⲁⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩ-
ⲣⲟⲙⲓⲥ ⲛⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲡⲣⲉⲡⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁϩⲛⲉⲕ ⲛⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲕⲩⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲁⲛ [ϩⲓⲧ]ⲉϫⲱ[ⲣⲓⲥ]ⲧⲉⲓⲁ
ⲥⲉ[ⲛⲁ . .]ⲁⲕ [ⲛ]ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ [ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ]ⲣ[ⲱⲟⲛⲉ] ⲛⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲧ-
[ⲛⲛⲁⲩ . . . . .]ⲁⲁⲕ

P. ⲧⲓ̅.

ⲛⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ϩⲁⲣⲏⲉ ϩⲛⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲁϫⲁ ϩⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲱⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉϥ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ·
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉϩⲁϥ ⲛⲛⲓⲥⲓⲗⲉⲛⲧⲓⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲛⲛⲏⲉ
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϩⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥⲕⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲗⲉϫⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ
ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲁⲥⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲛ[ⲓⲥⲕ]ⲟⲛⲟ[ⲥ ⲉⲧ]ⲛⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲛⲟ[ⲟⲥ]
ⲛⲉϩⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉⲉⲛ

LXXII.

[ⲟⲩⲉ]ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲁϥⲁⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲁⲥ
ⲛⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲉ ϩⲱⲟⲩϥ ⲁϥⲱⲗⲕ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲟⲩϫ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲏⲧⲛⲟⲩϫ
ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲁⲛⲁϩ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲩⲁⲛⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲛⲛⲟⲉ ϩⲣⲁⲓ
ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲉⲩⲱⲟⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛⲉ ϥⲛⲁⲥⲟⲟⲩⲏ
ϫⲉⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲁⲩ [. . . . .]ⲱⲟ[. . . .]ⲁⲩⲱ [. . . . . .]
ⲛⲁⲩ [. . . . . .]ⲉ

ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲏ ⲉⲛⲉϫ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲥⲩⲱⲟⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲏⲧⲓ ⲛⲉϫⲁⲩ
ϫⲉⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲧⲁⲛⲛⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲏ ⲉⲛⲉϫ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲉϫⲉ
ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉⲉⲩϫⲉ ⲛⲛⲓⲧⲛⲏⲧⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲏ ⲉⲛⲉϫ̅ⲥ̅
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲁⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩϫ
[. . . . .] ⲟⲁⲕ[ⲟⲩ

LXXI. P. ⲧⲛⲓ̅ⲍ̅.

ϫⲉⲛⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲛ ⲩⲁⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲛⲟⲛ ⲁϥⲣⲱⲟⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲉ [ⲁϥ]ⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲍⲉ ⲁⲛⲟ[ⲛ] [ⲁⲉ ⲛ]ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲉ ϫⲉⲁ[. .
. . . ⲛ]ⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ[. . . . . ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲉϩ[. . . . .]ⲛⲧϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ
ⲉⲁ[ⲛⲏⲓ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲛⲓⲧⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ϩⲛ

P. ⲧⲛ̅ⲛ̅.

ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁϥ ⲭⲉⲉⲕⲛⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉⲛ[ⲥⲁ]ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ϯⲭⲱ ⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲭⲉⲥⲟⲡ [ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉϯ]ⲛⲁϥⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ [. .]ⲧ̣ⲁ̣[. . .]ⲙ ⲛⲧⲉⲧ[ⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍ]ⲁ ϣⲁⲣⲉⲛ[ⲁⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲉ]ⲭⲙⲡⲉⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ[ⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟ]ⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲧⲁ[ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧ

A—Munich LXVIII.

[p. 5] . . . in my presence, being ready gladly to furnish (χωρηγεῖν) for me the preface (παροίμιον = προοίμιον) of the Encomium and bringing upon himself (?) apostolic (ἀποστολικόν) honour by his gladness, whereof it is said:[7] God loveth a cheerful giver . . . . . the holy . . . .

[p. 6] the holy archbishop (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) Dioscorus and (that) we glorify him, crying with the holy prophet (προφ.) David and saying:[8] 'Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly (ἀσεβής) nor stood in the way of sinners and hath not sat in the seat (καθέδρα) of the scornful (λοιμός); but (ἀλλά) his desire is in the law (νόμος) . . . . .

LXXIII. (1st fol. of quire ⲃ̅.)

[that he knew that] deacon (διάκονος) by sight. And thus I bade my son Timothy, (saying:) Keep thyself from him. When we were come forth from Rakote (= Alexandria), at the time of evening, he lay down upon one side in the ship, he and his people, while I laid myself with my children upon an (other) side. But (δέ) Apa Macarius came in, in the middle of the night, and said: 'My father archbishop, wakest thou?' But (δέ) I waked Peter the deacon (διάκονος) and said [unto him] . . . . .

. . . . . [that had] made ready to come with us, have gone to their houses.' I said unto him: 'Whence knowest thou?' He said unto me: 'I saw (?) even now in a vision (ὅραμα) how the holy bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) Apa Psate of Psoi, the holy martyr (μάρτυρος) was standing and all the other bishops there standing (by) and I and thee, we stood (there) also; (and) I saw in the vision (ὅρ.) how shining crowns did . . . upon the heads of us all. And I looked moreover (and) saw Athanasius the archbishop . . . . .

[7] 2 Cor. ix, 7 (Br. Mus., Or. 3579 B, 54). [8] Ps. i, 1.

LXIX.

. . . the one . . . . ., the other having a great beard and much hair. The same spake unto me, saying: 'Dioscorus, knowest thou not who I am?' I said: 'I know not who ye be.' He said unto me: 'I am John the son of Zacharias and my mother (was) Elisabeth, the kinswoman (συγγενής) of Mary, the mother of Christ. My brother whom thou seest, he is Elisaius the prophet (προφήτης); and he put water upon' [Elias' hands] . . . . .

. . man of Tkoou, his body (σῶμα) [shall be] beside our bones.' [But (δέ)] when I had arisen from the vision (ὅραμα), I woke him (and) related to him the vision (ὅρ.). But (δέ) he said unto me: 'Who am I that my body should dwell beside the bones of the Lord's forerunner (πρόδρομος) and of him upon whom the spirit (πνεῦμα) of Elias was doubled?'[9] But (δέ) after that we were come unto the [harbour], the holy Apa Macarius followed after us, his [raiment] being . . . . .

B—XCVI.

. . . '[Leo], the impious, that was bishop of Rome. I anathematise all those who, in whatsoever wise it be, shall receive them or whoso shall preach any word contrary to the dogma of our fathers, whose names we (?) have set forth' . . . .

. . . Anathema unto the synod of Chalcedon, which did ascribe unto the One and Only, our Lord Jesus Christ, two natures, after the ineffable union. And I anathematise every one that' . . .

XCVII. *A small fragment, apparently related to the preceding. The speaker attacks the* 'Nestorians.'

LXX. [p. 309] . . . my father, (and) he spake these words, saying:[10] 'I will pass through a snare by (the help of) my God. The snare is broken and (δέ) we are delivered.' But (δέ) when we had reached the stadia (στάδιον *pl.*) of Constantinople, my father spake unto Pamprepios, saying: 'Lo, here now is the place. Save thyself. Else, if thou go with us into exile (ἐξοριστεία), the men of that place will' . . . . .

[9] 2 Kings ii, 9.

[10] *Cf.* Ps. cxxiv, 7.

[p. 310] . . . the bishop (ἐπ.) of Gangra. For (γάρ) he was of a wicked (ἀσεβής) nature; for indeed (γάρ τάχα[11]) it was Nestorius had ordained him bishop (ἐπ.). But (δέ) when he had beheld my father, he said unto the silentiary (σιλεντιος = ? σιλεντιάριος): 'Who is this?' He said unto him: 'Dioscorus the Alexandrian' (ἀλεξάνδρειος). Now (δέ) my father was standing, (while) that bishop (ἐπ.) sat. He said unto him: . . . . .

LXXXIII.

[*Recto.*] . . . took him (?) and arose and went forth to meet him. And so soon as he beheld him, he spake this fitting hymn (μέλος), saying: '[I found] Israel like unto a vine in the desert and like a fig-tree.[12] Thou hast . . . . ., oh, my father' . . . . .

[*Verso.*] . . . the archimandrite fell at his feet and kissed them, saying: 'I pray (?) and adore the place whereon thy feet stand. For my (?) feet have stood upon holy ground, until they reached (?) the bush (βάτος)' . . . . .

LXXII.

. . . [his] feet after the manner of a suppliant (and) he held a staff.[13] But (δέ) the other bent his hand in deceit, like one maimed. They came unto my father, saying within themselves: 'If he be a man of God, he will know that we are' . . . . .

. . . 'Let it be unto you according to your faith (πίστις) in Christ.' They said: 'We be Jews; we have not faith in Christ.' My father said unto them: 'If ye have not faith in Christ, depart, being lame and maimed.' Forthwith their hands . . . . . bent . . . . .

LXXI.

[p. 357] . . ., saying: 'Follow thou after (? προστάξε[14]) me until he come to himself. Verily he hath been terrified.' And (δέ) he followed after (προστάξε) him. But (δέ) we knew not . . . . . that man . . . Scarcely (μόγις) did the . . . . . him to us. When we had [received] of the holy mysteries (μυστήριον) in . . . . .

[11] *V.* F. Robinson, *Apocr. Gosp.*, 182; Crum, *Copt. Ostr.*, no. 290.
[12] *Cf.* Hos. ix, 10.
[13] *V.* Peyron, *Gram.*, 180.
[14] One expects some liturgical expression. The Syriac has ܟܪܙ, 'preach.'

. . . My father said unto him: 'Thinkest thou that, except to-day only, this befalleth not? I say unto thee that every time whereon I make the offering (*προσφορά*) . . . . . the table (*τράπεζα*), these (?) [do come?] upon the altar (*θυσ.*). But (*ἀλλά*) God hath willed that' . . . . .

XCII. (*A small fragment.*)

'[The]opistus the dea[con] . . . . . they told me of the death of the most impious Marcian' . . . . .

Cairo, no. 8084.

[Fol. *a.*] ⲂⲞⲨⲖⲞⲤ ⲚⲈⲚⲈⲨⲈⲚⲈ ⲈⲨⲰⲞⲚⲈ ⲚⲢⲢⲞⲚⲈ ⲈⲒⲈ ⲦⲀⲨⲰⲞⲨⲚ ⲦⲀⲂⲰⲔ ⲈⲂⲞⲖ ⲚϨⲚⲦⲤ · Ⲱ ⲚⲀⲢⲢⲒⲤⲒⲀ ⲈⲤⲚⲈⲚⲈⲒ ⲚⲦⲚⲚⲦⲞⲨⲖⲀⲂ · Ⲱ ⲖⲀⲤ ⲈϤⲫⲞⲢⲈⲒ ⲚⲚⲞⲨⲦⲈ ⲚⲀⲚⲈ ⲨⲀϤⲢⲀⲒ ⲈⲚⲈ[ⲒⲈ]ⲢⲢⲞ ⲚⲈⲦⲞ ⲚⲈⲢⲢⲞ ⲈϪⲚⲚⲔⲀϤ ⲦⲚⲢϥ · ⲀⲦⲦⲀⲚⲢⲞ ⲚⲀⲒⲤⲔⲞⲢⲞⲤ (*sic*) ⲦⲀϤⲞϥ ⲈϥⲦⲈⲒ ⲚⲦⲚⲚⲦⲚⲞⲞⲨ ⲚⲚⲞⲨⲦⲈ

[Fol. *b.*] Ⲁ]ⲚⲞⲔⲢⲒⲤⲈ ⲚⲚϥⲞⲨⲰⲨⲂ ⲚⲀϥ ⲀⲖⲀⲨ · ⲚⲈϪⲀϥ ⲚⲀⲨ ⲬⲈⲈⲒⲤ ⲚⲈⲦⲈⲚϤⲨⲚⲞⲔⲢⲀⲫⲈ ⲚⲦⲞⲞⲨ ⲀⲚ ⲚⲦⲀⲨⲈ-ⲦⲚϤⲨⲚⲞⲔⲢⲀⲫⲈ ⲈⲦⲈⲨⲔⲀⲞⲈⲢⲈⲤⲒⲤ ⲠⲀⲖⲚ ⲞⲚ ⲀⲨⲔⲀ ⲢⲞⲞⲨ · ⲀϥⲞⲨⲰⲨⲂ ⲚⲞⲨ ⲞⲨⲚⲢⲞⲦⲈⲔⲦⲰⲢ ⲚⲦⲈ ⲚⲢⲢⲞ ⲈⲚⲈϥⲢⲀⲚⲚⲈ ⲚⲈⲒⲔⲚⲀⲀⲤ ⲚⲈϪⲀϥ ⲬⲈⲀϤⲈ ⲀⲖⲚⲞⲞⲤ ⲚⲈⲚⲒⲤⲔⲞⲚⲞⲤ ϤⲚⲞⲨⲚⲚ · ⲀϥⲔⲦⲞϥ ⲀⲈ [ⲚⲞⲨ ⲚⲈ]ⲚⲒⲤ-ⲔⲞⲚⲞⲤ Ⲛ ⲦⲈⲚ ⲈϤⲞⲨⲚ ⲈⲨⲚⲚⲦⲢⲈϥ[ⲨⲚ]:ⲨⲈ-ⲈⲖⲀⲞⲀ[ⲞⲚ] ϤⲚⲚⲈⲒⲔⲞⲨ[ⲒⲚ]ⲨⲀⲈϤ ⲈϥϤⲚ ⲞⲨⲒⲬ ⲞⲨⲀ[Ⲉ ⲦⲈⲦⲚⲀⲀ

[fol. *a*] . . . . . namely Christ, If it be the king, then I will arise and go forth from it.' Oh, boldness (*παῤῥησία*) that befitteth (*πρέπειν*) holiness; oh, tongue that truly beareth (*φορεῖν*) God, even unto that king who is king over the whole earth! The words (*lit.* mouth) of Dioscorus reached him, declaring (*lit.* giving) the greatness of God . . . . .

[fol. *b*] . . . reply (*ἀποκρίνειν*), he answered him nothing. He said unto them: 'Lo, ye sign (*ὑπογράφειν*) not after me, ye that have (?) signed their deposition (*καθαίρεσις*).' Again (*πάλιν*) they held their peace. There answered a *protector* (*πρωτέκτωρ*) of the king named Niketas[15] and said: 'Yea,

[15] Who befriended Dioscorus at Constantinople (*Miss. franç.*, IV, 140).

verily (ἀληθῶς), (he is?) in truth the bishop (ἐπ.)' . . . . . to idolatry in this small branch in . . . hand, neither (οὐδέ) . . . . .

Zoega, no. CLXV.

[p. 241] . . . they made haste and came in and sat upon the seats (καθέδρα) and the thrones (θρόνος) that were there. And they rejoiced and were glad at the loss of their own souls (ψυχή), as the wicked (ἀσεβής) rejoice. Now (δέ οὖν) the holy Dioscorus, since (ὡς) the matter (weighed) heavy upon him, because that (it) had already been revealed unto him by the vision (ὅραμα) that he had seen, would in no wise join himself unto them; and (δέ) he hesitated [16] (?) to go in. But (δέ) these wicked men (ἀσεβής), as (ὡς) they were the first to enter in, did sit down upon the seats and thrones that were there; and they left not there one throne (θρόνος), for (γάρ) they were very many. Moreover, the impious (ἀσεβής) Marcian had thought that, through this multitude of bishops (ἐπ.), his design should lay hold of the whole world (οἰκουμένη). But (δέ) the holy Dioscorus held not (longer?) back from entering in to the synod (συνέδριον) of these vain transgressors (παραβάτης); but (ἀλλά), as he entered, he repeated (μελετᾶν) the holy words, saying: [17] 'Thou shalt not be with a multitude to do evil (κακία), neither (οὐδέ) shalt thou put thy hand with a multitude for to turn aside and bring to nought a judgment.' What then (γάρ) is the judgment which they have destroyed but (εἰμήτι) the confession (ὁμολογία) of the Only, the Indivisible Christ, whom they have divided? Instead of (ἀντί) confessing (ὁμολογεῖν) a single nature (φύσις) of God the Word (λόγος) who took flesh (σάρξ), they, in their blasphemy, have divided Him into two natures, having trodden under foot and trampled upon (καταπατεῖν) the law (νόμος). And therefore doth the shame of the prophet (προφ.) befit them, who formerly spake of their impurity, saying unto them that were with them: [18] 'They have cast forth the law (νόμος) and have not rendered a just judgment; for the wicked (ἀσεβής) doth violence unto the

[16] This locution, which recurs below, is unknown to me. It might mean 'was last to go in.'

[17] Exod. xxiii, 2.

[18] Habac. i, 4, 5; Ac. xiii, 41.

righteous (δίκαιος). For this cause shall judgment go forth perverted. Behold, ye despisers (καταφρονητής), and wonder and perish (*sic expl.*).

[p. 251][19] to the harbour of Constantinople and the entries to the city (πόλις), desiring to learn the answer (ἀπόκρισις) that the holy John had sent unto the king. And when he had met them, he related unto them the words, saying: "The prophet (προφήτης) said unto me, Say unto Marcian, 'If thou keep the right faith (πίστις), like as thou didst receive it at the hand of king Theodosius that was before thee, God shall grant (χαρίζειν) unto thee thirty-five years; if thou art false thereunto in any wise, God shall visit thee without delay.' But (δέ) those evil men (ἀσεβής) besought (παρακαλεῖν) him saying: 'Relate not the answer (ἀπόκρισις) thus unto the king, but according to the number of years which the prophet (προφ.) did say we will give thee a pound (λίτρα) of gold. Take then (λοιπόν) thirty-five pounds (λι.) of gold and relate the saying unto the king merely (ἁπλοῦς) as, 'The prophet (προφ.) told me saying: Say unto the king, Thou shalt [p. 252] pass other thirty-five years in thy reign.' But (δέ) after he had received the gold at the hands of the Nestorians, he went in unto the king and related unto him the answer (ἀποκ.) saying: 'Thou shalt have other thirty years.' (And) he abandoned himself, thinking, 'Thus far only did the prophet say.' Then (λοιπόν) he became careless as to his soul (ψυχή), until he made this great schism (σχισμός) in the church (ἐκκλ.) of God, when the godless Jews drew up a public notice (χάρτης, πρόθεμα) and published it commonly (δημοσίᾳ) in Constantinople, concerning this king, Marcian, after that he had dismissed the synod (σύνοδος) of Chalcedon, having written it in mockery and contempt of that polluted synod (σύνοδ.). And (δέ) it was written in this form (τύπος): 'Up till this day all thought it was a god the Jews had crucified (σταυροῦν). But (δέ) after that the synod (σύνοδ.) was gathered at Chalcedon and had declared unto all by those things which they did approve (δοκιμάζειν) that' (*sic expl.*).

[19] *Cf.* here the Syriac 'Life,' § 8.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

By PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *LL.D.*, *etc.*

(*Continued from page* 194.)

I have now exhausted the list of names which it is at all possible to identify, with the exception of that of the Hamath king. The first character composing it is a modified form of the couch, the second an ideograph which must not be confounded with the symbol of supremacy, from which it is always distinct. The third character is the knife, the fourth *n*. Of the Khattinâ kings known to us from the Assyrian monuments, the only two with names terminating in *-n* are Lubarna and . . . sun, whose name may be completed as Luba-sun. At all events one of the Hittite antagonists of Rameses II was Luba-sunna, "the leader of the archers of Annas." In the geographical lists of Ramses III at Medînet Habu *s-n-n* in the name of the town Kil-senn(a) is explained by the ideograph of "house."

The verb with the determinative (the symbol of authority) attached to it is found in H. IV, 3, and we may infer that it represented a stem ending with *-n*. In H. V, 1 there are two determinatives, the head or "chief," and the ideograph of authority. If, therefore, *sunna* means "house," the word before us can have nothing to do with it, and we have to fall back on the name of Lubarna. In this case would be *lu*, *ba*, and *ar* or *ur*. On the other hand the word represented by the knife when it signifies "conqueror," or something similar, as in Bor 1, terminates in *-i* (cp. M. 2), and in M. 2 and 3, as we have seen above, it is attached to the syllable *si*. Now in the Malatiyeh inscription the word represented by the knife begins with *s*: may we not therefore read *sun* and conclude that the Hamath king was really called Luba-sunna?

The phonetic values already ascertained enable us to determine the name of a tree which is used ideographically in the middle of a word. In Bor 3 we have after the word "city" and before the word "king": , *ya-na*-ID.-*tu-a-mes-ya*, the oblique wedge after the vowel indicating that it expresses an abbreviated syllable. In H. V, 5 (and 4) we get the same word after the double-headed battle-axe, and with the determinative (*ma-a*) of "place" attached to it, written thus: , N-ID-*tu-tu*-ID.-*mis-ya* (*Intumisya*). Elsewhere *-mis* is the suffix of the plural, and it is clear that the tree must have been called *inda* or *yanada*. Is Yantu (Antu) or Yantumis (Antumis) the name of a town like Anda-balis? In the Andaval text the name is perhaps written [], [*A*]-*n-ta*(?)-*mi*(?)-*is-a-na-s*, with the determinative of district, and in Bor 3 we find the accusative *An-tu-a-si-n* (without the plural sign). We thus get the values of three fresh characters.

Of characters the phonetic values of which can be fixed there remains only , which is peculiar to Malatiyeh. It there forms the affix of the genitive and first person of the verb, and is inserted between *ya* and *a* in the demonstrative pronoun. It thus appears to take the place of *mi* (?) or *m*, but is more probably *e* or *i*.

The ideograph which follows the demonstrative pronoun in this inscription is the picture of a gate with the determinative of "place" attached to it. Then we have *s* with the ideograph of knife and the verbal suffix *i*. *S* will be the beginning of some word signifying to "cut" or "carve," and the signification of the whole phrase will be, "This gate-way I have carved."

Another word, the meaning of which can be ascertained, is , which in J. III, 5 is preceded by the determinative of a class of persons and followed by the suffix of the plural *-a-s*. Then come the names of three gods with the same suffix (*a*)-*s*, so that the word must have some such signification as "ministers." We have the same word in Karaburna 3 without the final *-s* and followed by the ideographs of "king," "place" (with the suffix *na*)

and "god."[1] The word reads *m-mi* (?)-*m-a* or *meuma*, and thus is identical with the word *memi-s*, which, as I have pointed out in the *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1901, p. 18, is the word used in the language of Arzawa for "servant."

The signification of several other ideographs and corresponding words has already been made out in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, XV, (1893), and the *Proceedings* of this Society, 1899. For the evidence I must refer my readers to the Papers therein printed. The picture of a house or temple with the phonetic complement -*n* (J. I, 3), which reminds us of *sunna* "a house," is frequently coupled with *iyasi*, which must consequently have much the same signification, and to which accordingly I assign the meaning of "shrine."[2] Thus in J. III, 3 we have ID.-*-*yas*-DET. *i-yasi*-DET., "the house of . . (and) the shrine," where the determinative of "place" is attached to both words; J. III, 5, "making these (*iyais*) priests for the shrine of the god," (*iyasi-mi*(?) *ana-mâ*); H. V, 2, *iyasi-na*-DET. *ya-mâ ana-s-n*, "a shrine here belonging to the gods," where again the determinative of "place" is used. So too in the Bowl inscription, where we also have at the beginning, "This bowl for Sandan (*San-da-mî*?) in (?) the shrine (*iyasi-ta*) I the king have made."[3]

The ideograph for "making," "appointing," &c., is the builder's trowel (*Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 210). This must be distinguished from the column which supports the winged sky in the "edicule" at Boghaz Keui, and is used ideographically in the sense

[1] So too at Gurun, I. 6, DET. *m-mi* (?)-*m-a* before "city," and "the supreme god SI and the supreme god Tarku." In Bab. 6 the names of the gods are replaced by those of the king and Sandan in the nominative, and *m-mi* (?)-*m-a* is preceded by "city of the caduceus" with the genitive suffix -*i*. At Bulgar Maden (5) the accusative *m-mi* (?)-*m-n* with the determinative of a class of persons is followed by the name of the god Sandan, "the god of the city." [The phonetic value of the boot resulting from Prof. Ramsay's identification of Euasai, shows that we must read *m-eu-m-a*.]

[2] The determinative of city is attached to *iyasi-ta*, "in the shrine," on a fragment from Carchemish now in the British Museum (Messerschmidt, XVA, 3).

[3] This is the more natural interpretation of the words, but they could also be rendered: "This bowl for the shrine of Sandan I the king have made." But -*ta* is more probably the sign of the locative. "I the king have made" is *a-tu-us a-i-ga-ya*, where the verbal form *ai-ga-ya* must be compared with *au-man-i*, "I have despatched," in the letter of Arzawa.

of "establishing," "supporting." Both occur on the Izgin Obelisk (D. I and II). In J. III, 4 the phonetic complement *ga* is attached to the first, which must therefore have either been pronounced *ga* or have ended in that syllable. Perhaps we have the verb written phonetically in the Bowl inscription, *ga-mi*(?)-*n*, "they have (?) made."

The human head takes the place of the ideograph of "king" in Bab. I. In J. III, 2 it is prefixed to the word "dirk-bearer," possibly in the sense of "chief." Here the determinative of a class of persons is written ;[1] in J. II, 1, it is the lower part of the face ; at Malatiyeh it is . At Izgin and Hamath, as we have seen, the doll and the head with the arm pointing to the mouth are used with *-me* to represent the vowel *a*. In the inscriptions and seals of Western Asia Minor the ideograph for "king" is , which is found scarcely at all elsewhere (but cp. J. V, 3). At Tyriaion it is preceded by the determinative .

Our knowedge of Hittite grammar, it will be seen, is still but rudimentary. The nominative singular ends in *-s*, that of the plural in *-(a)s*. The accusative terminates in *-n*, an oblique case in a vowel. The suffix *-mi* (?) or *-ui* (?) denotes a dative, *-mâ*, locality, while *-ta* may mark the locative. Adjectives agree with their substantives as in the Indo-European languages, and common forms of the adjectives are in *-yas*, *-nas* and *-sis*, as well as in *-mis* and *mas*.[2] The verb has a first person singular ending in *-ya* or *-i*, the

[1] Another determinative (that of the class of priests) being .

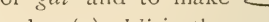
[2] Since , "place," is *ma*, it is possible that the adjectival ending *-mas* denoted "belonging to the land of." In this case we could explain *Gargames-mâ* in J. III, 2, "The dirk-bearer (and) traverser (?) of the sanctuary of Carchemish, the Hittite." So, too, in H. IV, 1, DET. *Am-ma-ar-mi* (?)-*ts-m a* DET. ID.-*ya ana-me-ya* ID.-*mi* (?)-*ya*, "in the land of the god Amurru of the god . . the kingly, the powerful," where *-mâ* is coupled with the genitival *-ya*. The suffix *-mis*, on the other hand, signifies "belonging to," Sandames, for example, being, like Sanda-is, "he who belongs to Sandan." On the Kouyunjik seals it is noticeable that ID. *Sanda-mĕ-s* means "the seal of Sandan." *-Nas* is used both as a gentilic and as a patronymic suffix (as in Vannic or Greek), and *-qas* in the Agrak text may possibly be a patronymic. By the side of the suffix *-âyas* (Bor 2) we also have *-âya-na-yas*, or *-âyanas* (And. 2). As for the cases of the noun, perhaps we have a genitive plural in *-n-n* in H. V, 2, and another plural termination in *-n* in H. V, 4. See above (p. 174) for evidence that the plural suffix *mis* (or *is*?) also had the value of *ân*.

suffix of the third person plural ends in *-n*. There seem also to be prefixes of which *ai-* may be an instance in the Bowl inscription. The suffix *-(i)si* which we find in M. 3, 4, &c., may be identical with the Boghaz Keui suffix *-izzi*. *Amei* is "I" or "I (am)," *ama* "of me," *men* (and *mes*) the accusative (and nominative) of the first personal possessive pronoun. The demonstrative is *yâ* or *ya-a*, with the lengthened suffixal forms *ya-mâ*, *ya-mis*, and *ya-mes*, ("myself"): we also have *yas-mâ* and the plural *ya-is*. There were, however, doubtless local variations, and I suspect that the suffix *mi* (?) was in some places pronounced *-pi* or *-wa*. One suffix could be added to another; thus at Karaburna we find *Sinas* and *Sinas-mâ-nais*. In the language of Arzawa the adverb ended in *-nda*, and we may have a similar adverb in H. V, 5, ID.*-da* "mightily."

The demonstrative appears sometimes to be placed after its noun. Compare, at all events, J. III, 4 and 5. In the first passage we have, . . . *me-n* ID.*-n(a)* DET.*-gal-li-n(a) ara*(?)*-mi*(?) *ya-e*(?)*-m-a* ID.*-na ga-(i)s*, "who hath appointed (*participle*) my . . . , the prince (?), the gallos-priest of the god in this city," where *ara* (?) means perhaps "city." In the second we read, ID.*-n(a) i-yas-i-mi*(?)*-na-m-a ya-is* DET.-ID. *galli-as ga-(i)s*, "who has appointed these priests in the chapel." We find a parallel to the first passage in H. V, 2: . . *me-ya A*-MA*-ma-ti* ID. ID.-ID.*-a-*?*-me-n-n* ID.*-a* DET. *Na*-NAN*-na-yas-ma* ?*-si-n anas-s-n i-yas-i-na-ma ya-m-a anas-s-n* DET. *Am-ma-ar-mi*(?) *is-ma*, "of the (ruler) of Hamath, the king of the city of the A . . menians, the . . . in the land of the Sun-god, (and) of the gods in this chapel (and) the gods in the land of the Amorite god." It would seem, by the way, from a comparison of *i-yas-i-mi*(?)*-na-m-a* in J. III, 5 and *i-yas-i-na-ma* in H. V, 2, that the boot really has the value of *e* or *yi*, and not of *mi*. It is further clear that the two characters which represent *na* can also be used for the simple *n* of the accusative singular (and genitive plural). Perhaps in this case they denoted the sonent nasal *n̥*.

As an adjectival suffix, however, *-na* can best be rendered "belonging to." Thus *iyasi-na* would be "belonging to the chapel," as Khata-na is "belonging to the Hittite land." So in J. III, 3 *aba-ga-li-na-s* will be literally "belonging to the high priest."

In the passage I have quoted above from J. III, 4, I have assumed that I was correct in the *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, in giving ◁ *ar* the ideographic value of *gal*. But when we compare J. III, 2

 with J. III, 4 it seems better to give the determinative the ideographic value of *gal* and to make *al*, reading GAL-*li-ya* in the first instance and GA(L)-*al-li* in the second. We shall thus be able to read the word *ga-*  *-s* in M. I, 2, which must mean "priest" or something of the sort, as *ga-al(i)-s*.

The suffix *-na* denotes "city," "country," as in *Khatta-nas* "Hittite." Thus in B.M. 1 we have *Sanda-n-ya-s galli-na-s*, "priest of the city of Sandes" (Kybistra), and in line 5 the instructive *arâ Sanda-n-ya-s-ya*-DET., "of the city of Sandes." The last form is parallel with *arâ Ya-na-tu-a(i)-nas-ya*, "of the city of Yantuê(s)" in Bor 3.[1] Cp. *ya-n*-TU-*ga(l)-al-mis-ya* in H. V, 5 by the side of *N-da-gal-i*-DET., "of the city of Andakal," in the Kirsch-oghlu inscription.

The suffix *-mis* is plentiful in the proper names found in the Greek inscriptions of Cilicia. Thus we have Arma-dapei-mis and Herma-dapie-mis, where Arma seems to be the Hittite god Aramis, and the name belongs to the same class as those of Tarkun-dapi and San(da)-dapî. Similarly we find Nen-lormis corresponding to Mar-larme (for Mur-larme, by the side of Tarkhu-lara, which has been further Assyrianised into Marlarim[2]), as well as Rô(m)-bigre-mis and Rôm-namis. I believe that the Commagenian *-pi* (in Kus-tas-pis and Kundas-pis) corresponded to the Hittite *-mis* or *-mes*.

The only verbal forms I have been able to discover are, *ga-ya*, "I have made," *ga-yu* (and *-mâ*), "he has made," *ga-yuin*, "they have made" (assuming that the boot had the value of *u*), *ga-is* "making," written *ga-u-is* in Tyriaion 3.

As for the relative chronology of the inscriptions, that must be left till the decipherment of them is further advanced. At present we have no materials for settling it. All that can be said is that the Cilician inscriptions are comparatively late, and that while the early art of the Hittites looks to Babylonia, the bas-relief of Malatiyeh is already Assyrian. Whether it is later than the time of Assur-nazir-pal we do not know, as we are ignorant as to how far back the style of art which characterises the bas-reliefs of Assur-nazir-pal may reach.[3]

[1] Is Yaṇatu the same name as that of the Eneti, or Cappadocians?

[2] *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 200.

[3] The swastika, it will be noticed, so common in Cyprus and the Troad, is unknown to Hittite art, except on the border of the high-priest's robe at Ibreez. On the other hand, the employment of the swastika for the cross, like that of the symbol of life in Egypt, shows that in Isauria it must once have been well known. (See Sterrett: *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, p. 40.)

About the pronunciation of Hittite sounds still less can be said than about the age of the texts. It is a subject which I must leave to those who find time to draw delicate distinctions between sounds which they have never heard; the decipherer of ancient inscriptions has other work to do.

A peculiarity of the Hittite mode of writing, however, still remains to be noticed. Not only may an ideograph be provided with a phonetic complement, it is probable that a syllabic character may be so too. Thus *na-nas* seems to read *nas*. This partly explains the number of representatives of final *-s*, the characters which originally denoted closed syllables like *mis* coming to be used for simple *-is* or *s* in consequence of a *mi* or *m* being frequently prefixed to them. The peculiarity is shared by Egyptian. In fact the graphic system resembles that of Egypt rather than that of Assyria, which is very astonishing and inexplicable considering that Hittite art is based on that of Babylonia and Assyria, and that the Hittite peoples once used the cuneiform system of writing.

The decipherment of the texts, partial and rudimentary as it is, has nevertheless established two facts. The hieroglyphs are really Hittite; Hittite is the common name which the writers of them share. It was a sort of national name common to the populations of Milid and Gurgum, of Komana and Cappadocia, of Cilicia (?) and the Khattinâ, of Carchemish, and, at one time at all events, of Hamath. The fact, it is true, could never have been doubted by those who possessed that faculty of common sense which is as necessary in archæology as in the affairs of every day life, and who remembered the identity of the proper names of the Hittite antagonists of Ramses II with those of the later kings of Milid and the Khattinâ, or the similar identity of the portraits drawn by the Hittites themselves in their sculptures and inscriptions with the portraits made of them by their Egyptian enemies. But it is as well to have it confirmed on the epigraphic side.

The second fact is the indirect verification of Prof. Ramsay's view, that Hittite civilisation came from north to south. In the inscriptions of Asia Minor, the geographical names are for the most part written ideographically, especially as we go north; in Syria south of the Taurus they are spelt phonetically, indicating their foreign origin. We can thus return to the old belief that Carchemish is really Kar-Kamosh, "the Fort," or rather "Wall of Chemosh," Gargamis being a Hittite transformation of the name after the

capture of the city from the Semitic Aramæans. And Hamath may have been the original name of Hamah, retained by its Semitic inhabitants, though its Hittite conquerors turned it into Amata or Amatta. It is many years since I suggested that Gar-Emeris(u) or Emeris(u), the Assyrian name of the district in which Damascus was situated, was of Hittite origin and concealed the name of the Amorites; the suggestion may after all be right, and the name have come through Hittite mouths to the Assyrians from a primitive Semitic Kar-Amurri.

With which suggestion I pass on to the Hittite gods.

HITTITE THEOLOGY.

In J. II, 2 we read: "Aramis (?), king of the earth, supreme over the 9," and in lines 4 and 5, "the beloved of the 9 great gods, consecrated (?) to the 9." As the word "god(s)" is here represented by the ideograph of water, it might be supposed that divine streams or river-gods are referred to, and as the god who was "supreme" over them was "the king of the earth," it is clear that they were gods of this earth and not of heaven. But at Gurun "the 9" seem rather to be cities, and we are thus reminded of the fact that the Hittite goddesses at Boghaz Keui wear castellated crowns. The Hittite cities and tribes were deified; hence the proper names Khata-sar, Kaui-sar, and Khilip-sar, which contain the divine names of the Hittite, the Quian and Aleppo. While the Semite spoke of "Hadad, the god of Aleppo," for the Hittite the city itself was a god.

The "city of the Sun-god" is mentioned in J. III, 5, the picture of the sun being followed by the word *N-a*(?)-*n*. In the second inscription of Mer'ash (Messerschmidt, XXIII, c. 1) the same ideograph is again followed by the word *N-n*, to which the ideograph of "priest" is attached. *Nen or Nan* was consequently the name of the Sun-god.[1] We find it in a good many Cilician and Cappadocian

[1] In II. V, 2, where a "city of the Sun-god" is again mentioned, the name of the deity is written DET. *Na-*(⊙)*-na-*(*yas*). The ideograph, therefore, which is inserted between *na-na* must have the value of *nan*. We find it again in M. I, 5 after the determinative of "god."

The photograph of the Mer'ash inscription (*see* Plate), which I owe to the kindness of the Rev. G. Brooke Robinson, reads, "the lord of *Al-ya* IDEOGRAPH OF THE SUN *N-n-gal* DET. OF PLACE." I am tempted to see in this the Assyrian *ala-Ningal*, "the city of Ningal." The Aramaic inscriptions of Nêrab show that Ningal had been borrowed by the people of northern Syria, the Semitic portion of whom had transformed the name into Nikal, or Nikkal.

HITTITE INSCRIPTION ON A MONUMENT
FOUND AT MERASH.

names, Νευι-κάμιδις, Νεναόρμις, Νεν-αρις, Νίννις and Νίννος, to which we have probably to add Ναναῶς, Ναναόας, Νάννας, Νῆνις, Νάνιος, Νάνηλις, as well as Gunzi-nan, king of Comana, in the time of Sargon. Tarkus, denoted in J. III, 5 as on the "Boss," by a goat's head, is (J. III, 5) coupled with the Sun-god as well as with the goddess of Carchemish (Khila). The image of the latter holds in the hand the symbols , "the goddess supreme," or "the goddess of the sky," which, as, has been already remarked, is the title applied to the goddess at Fraktin. We may infer, therefore, that the god who is associated with her at Fraktin corresponds with Tarkus. The inference is confirmed by our finding that the god at Fraktin is depicted in precisely the same fashion as the god at Boghaz Keui, who is accompanied by a goat. At Boghaz Keui the god stands on the heads of two priests facing the goddess, who stands on the back of a leopard and wears the mural crown.

At Fraktin the god is called "the divine supporter," or establisher, "of the city," , and the priest who stands opposite to him, impersonating the god, is similarly styled "the supporter." The high-priest, who wears the dress of the goddess, in the same fashion faces the goddess. His name, which ends in *-m*, is composed of ideographs which I cannot read, and is followed by the ideograph which in J. III, 3, I have explained to mean "High-priest." Then come three characters, the second of which I cannot identify, the third is the accusative suffix *-n*, and the first is the arm, *sar*, "ruling," so that the signification must be something like "ruling the sanctuary," or "High-priest." Next comes the ideograph of "country," the name of which begins with *Ta*, and ends with the genitive suffix *-ya*. It ought to be Dastarkon.[1]

According to Stephanus Byzantinus, the great gods of the Cilicians were also nine. They consisted of the Earth and Sky and their seven children Adanos, the defied Adana, Ostasos or Oetasos, Andes, corrected into Sandês or Sandan, the tutelary god of Tarsus,[2] Kronos, Rhea (probably the Rhô of Cilician proper names), Iapetos (Japhet), and Olymbros. Tarkus, however, can

[1] The second character is probably the determinative of "deity," the next character, which expressed the name of the god, is lost. If this were Tarku, *ta* would here have the ideographic value of *das*, or *tas*.

[2] Or is Andes the city of An-da-(s) mentioned in Bor 3, H. V, 4?

hardly have been the Earth, since on M. Schlumberger's seals the god who bears the title of "supreme over the earth" stands on the back of a leopard, and is the god who at Boghaz Keui immediately follows the chief goddess, thus occupying the position assigned to Attys in Asianic theology. The name attached to him is expressed by the ideograph of the lower part of a man's body. The same name is found at Gurun (6), where it is preceded by the names of "the supreme god SI"[1] (or Tarkus), and "the supreme goddess" with her titles. It is possible that the name also occurs in the Aleppo inscription.

The Fraktin goddess must therefore be the Sky of Cilician mythology. As the ideograph follows the ideograph of "deity" instead of preceding it, it is probable that we have to render "goddess of the sky" instead of "supreme goddess," being "the sky," "that which is above," as in J. IV, 4, 4. Now Prof. Ramsay has shown that Bazis was the name applied to the sanctuary of Zeus Asmabaios near Tyana (*Recueil de Travaux*, XIV, p. 80), and the analogy of Saba-zios would lead us to infer that *-zi* is a formative suffix, the title or name of the deity itself being Ba. This brings us back to Aba, which, as is in Βάκηλος by the side of Ἀβακλῆς, could be abbreviated into Ba. Βᾶς like Βαβᾶς, Βαβόας and Βαβεὶς was a Cilician name. The seat of Zeus Asmabaios would thus be that which also belonged to the goddess who was associated with him.

The sky-goddess is accordingly the mother goddess of Asianic theology, who bore as many names as there were cities or districts with which she was identified. At Boghaz Keui she represents the State, and so wears the mural crown. As at Carchemish (J. III, 5), so at Boghaz Keui, she is brought into immediate connection with Tarkus and is accordingly accompanied by his goat.

Attys, who follows her at Boghaz Keui, is, as I have said, denoted by the hieroglyph . The name seems to have been general in eastern as well as in western Asia Minor. The name of Ἄτας is found in Isauria, and at Termessus in Pisidia we have Τεάττης This is clearly the Teuwatti of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the

[1] Ramsay's photograph and copy make the character *si*. Messerschmidt, however, makes the character at Boghaz Keui , which may be the same as that which in the Aleppo inscription has the value of *gar*.

Tuates of the Vannic inscriptions about which I have written in the *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 197. The analogy of Tu-tammu would apparently show that we ought to divide it Tu-ates. At Boghaz Keui Attys holds the eunuch-priest under his arm. The latter has both lituus and dagger, and in another bas-relief stands on the mountains supporting in the right hand the so-called edicule.[1]

[1] The "edicule" is a curious symbolic representation of the temple of the universe. In it the high-priest, impersonating the deity, stands on the boot or "earth" supporting the winged solar disk with the moon above it. The wings of the disk take the place of the sky. With the right hand he touches a fetish, two of which occupy the interior of the temple, while world-columns support the wings of the disk on either side. That the god should hold his priest under the arm is intelligible, when we remember that the priest impersonated the god and even bore his name.

(*To be continued.*)

THE TRANSLITERATION OF EGYPTIAN.

Letter of Professor Dr. Eugène Revillout.

Aux trois questions posées par vous, j'ai répondu depuis longtemps, tant dans mon enseignement public,[1] qui date de plus de 22 ans, que dans mes livres, particulièrement, en 1897, dans la lettre servant de préface à la Métrique égyptienne d'un de mes élèves et dans les planches finales qu'il a publiées sous ma direction.

Par les lettres qui vous sont déjà parvenues de mes élèves Philippe Virey et G. Bénédite, aussi bien que par beaucoup d'autres preuves, je vois, qu'à l'exception de Spiegelberg (qui s'est rattaché à d'autres de ses professeurs, ses compatriotes) et sur certains points du P. Durand, mon école a gardé mes traditions,—traditions qui sont celles de mon illustre maître, E. de Rougé, et que garde, de son côté, mon vieil ami Karl Piehl, tout autant que Naville. C'est aussi avec plaisir que je constate qu'au point de vue du Sémitique, l'excellent sémitisant Montet professe semblables opinions.

Moi-même j'ai étudié pendant des années toutes les langues sémitiques et j'ai même professé l'une d'elles. Aussi ne saurais-je entendre sans étonnement la maxime de Sethe commençant par ces mots : "The affinity between the Egyptian language and the different dialects of the Semitic language can hardly be doubtful to anyone who knows the two languages well. *It is proved, etc.*" Une longue expérience des deux langages *prouve*, au contraire, que l'Égyptien diffère des langues sémitiques par toute la contexture grammaticale aussi bien que par bon nombre de racines se rapprochant davantage —comme une autre école allemande l'a prétendu (aussi bien que de Rougé)—des langues indo-germaniques que des langues sémitiques. Qu'il y ait eu, cependant, des emprunts mutuels entre les langues sémitiques et l'Égyptien, cela n'est pas douteux ; j'ai souvent établi que, même en démotique, les mots relatifs au grand commerce, et

[1] Mon enseignement privé est bien antérieur.

surtout au commerce de l'argent sont sémitiques d'origine, et cela par la raison toute simple, que des Sémites avaient en Égypte le monopole de ce commerce.

Qu'il y ait eu primitivement aussi certaines parentés facilement explicables par des liens éloignés d'origine commune—par un proto-semitisme, si l'on veut—j'irais peut-être jusque là, à la rigueur, ainsi que je l'ai dit dans la lettre précitée, et cependant, certaines de ces parentés apparentes pourraient s'expliquer autrement. Il ne faudrait, du reste, pas nous citer comme telles les changements de vocalisation que subissent les mots alors qu'ils se trouvent grammaticalement allongés, car de semblables changements de vocalisation causés par le poids comparatif des mots et des syllabes se retrouvent dans les langues indo-germaniques et, généralement, dans toutes les langues.

Parmi les semitismes de l'Égyptien, outre le pronom et les palpels ou racines redoublées, j'ai cité souvent le 𓏏 du feminin correspondant au 𓏏 = ة *he-tav* (ת־ה) des sémites. Ex. : 𓅱 = ⲥⲟⲛ = frère, 𓅱𓏏 = ⲥⲱⲛⲉ = sœur, 𓅱𓏏𓂋 *sontef*, sa sœur, à l'état construit. J'ai cité aussi le 𓂝 = ע, qui, aux anciennes époques, paraît avoir eu le son guttural du *ain* dans les pays sémitiques les plus voisins de l'Égypte, c'est-à-dire en Palestine et en Arabie. On sait, qu'au contraire, en Chaldée, cette lettre est devenue la plus douce de toutes les voyelles, un simple *e*, et qu'en Phénicie elle a servi de prototype graphique à la lettre *o*, telle que l'ont empruntée les grecs eux-mêmes.

Rien ne prouve, en effet, que, dans les langues sémitiques primitives, le א, le ע, et le ה (devenu l'origine de notre *e*) aient été toujours de véritables consonnes, comme on les considère actuellement. À un certain moment, tel a été, en effet, le concept des grammairiens, et ces consonnes muettes ont été *mues* par d'autres voyelles, les points voyelles de l'hébreu, de l'arabe, etc. Seul, après les cuneiformes, parmi les langues sémitiques relativement modernes, l'Éthiopien a rattaché ces voyelles surajoutées aux différentes consonnes (empruntées à l'alphabet himiarite des inscriptions sabéennes) y compris à l'aleph, au *he*, à l'ain, etc.

Mais ce qui prouve bien que les sémites avaient cependant gardé la tradition d'après laquelle ces prétendues consonnes ou semi-voyelles n'avaient pas ce rôle dans l'origine, c'est que, dans le premier système de massore syriaque, ou les écrivait au dessus du texte, pour rendre les points voyelles des hébreux et des Arabes, ce

qui n'empêcha pas de les remplacer plus tard, dans ce but, par un système compliqué de points diacritiques et de motions.

On peut affirmer que les seules semi-voyelles qui aient toujours joué ce rôle, c'est-à-dire qui aient été, par la nature même, tantôt semi-voyelles tantôt voyelles, ce sont le *i* et le *u*, répondant également à *y* et à *v*, et pouvant alors se prononcer *ya*, *va*, etc.

Il en est de même, d'ailleurs, en copte, et, je n'en doute pas, dans le vieil Égyptien.

Comme dans les anciens cuneiformes et comme dans l'arabe littéraire, si on laisse de côté le son guttural du = ע, il n'y avait primitivement en Égyptien que trois voyelles, le *a* (et), le *i* (, \\), le *u* (,), tous simples par excellence. Le *e*, *ségol* ou *tseré*, qui existait dans le système hébreo-phénicien et remplaçait peut-être, comme point voyelle, l'ancien ה, n'existait pas d'abord en Égyptien : et dans l'Égyptien secondaire il est le résultat soit d'une dipthonge (= *au* = *e*) soit d'une consonne (= *er*) affaiblie de manière à ne plus sonner que par l'*e* de prononciation, le *sheva* servant à soutenir les consonnes ou les lettres doubles sans voyelles, *sheva* qui avant le *r* devenait plus distinct. C'est ce *sheva* que les Coptes ont plus tard remplacé par un accent spécial se mettant sur certaines lettres et que, dans le système de transcription de Lepsius et de De Rougé, il faut partout supposer en Égyptien quand la voyelle n'est pas inscrite.

Je crois, pour ma part, que ce système est le plus pratique et le meilleur, car les prétendues semi-voyelles de l'École Allemande sont, en Égyptien, comme d'ailleurs d'abord en Sémitique, de véritables voyelles. Ces voyelles ont pu, dans les deux groupes, perdre souvent leur prononciation primitive et être mues à leur tour. Mais cette motion postérieure, le Copte et les transcriptions en lettres grecques peuvent seuls nous la fournir, à la rigueur, pour les derniers états de la langue, tels que le démotique, par exemple.

Rien ne saurait nous la faire connaître pour les périodes les plus anciennes des hiéroglyphes.

Il faut bien savoir, en effet, qu'aucune langue n'est immobile et que vouloir donner aux vieux mots hiéroglyphiques la vocalisation du Copte, c'est commettre une faute aussi impardonnable que celle qui consiste à supprimer toute la vocalisation inscrite dans les mots pour la remplacer par une sorte de notation algébrique.

Cette faute est encore grossie quand on attribue aux sons vocaux

du Copte une valeur inexacte. C'est ce que nous remarquons dans la méthode d'un de nos Égyptologues actuels les plus distingués,[2] dans le but de donner, pretend-t-il, à l'Égyptien antique la prononciation Copte. Le ⲓ, par exemple, nous le savons avec certitude, n'avait, ni en Grèce ni en Égypte dans l'antiquité le son de l'*i* que lui attribuent les Grecs modernes. Rhangabé, alors ambassadeur de Grèce en France, a autrefois lu devant moi à l'Académie des Inscriptions un curieux Mémoire pour établir la réalité de la prononciation érasmienne de l'*êta*. Il a cité, entre autres passages, celui d'Aristophane faisant dire au mouton Βη Βη. Un mouton qui dirait *vivi* serait une curiosité.

Moi-même, à une période à peu près semblable, en 1870–71, j'ai lu à la même Académie un mémoire où j'étudiais la manière dont le Grec était traité en Copte.[3] J'y établissais, entre autres choses, que les premières traces de *l'iotocisme* de l'*êta*, faciles à constater par l'orthographe spéciale alors adoptée, n'apparaissaient qu'à partir du 8e ou du 9e siècle de notre ère : et encore le ⲓ s'échange-t-il d'abord avec le υ et non avec l'ι (ι qui se confond toujours, comme prononciation, avec ει quand il ne porte pas les deux points indiquant la dipthongue).

Mais nous avons dans les manuscrits démotiques avec transcriptions grecques des preuves innombrables et beaucoup plus frappantes. Le même signe démotique ⲓ (= 𓂋) sert en effet également toujours à rendre ϵ et ⲓ tandis que ⲓ rend ι et ει sans tréma.

En hiéroglyphes le mot 𓇳𓂋 *ra* désignait le soleil : et cette prononciation *ra* est prouvée par les auteurs classiques et par Manéthon transcrivant *ra* (pour Rameses, etc.) le disque solaire, se décomposant, au point de vue phonétique, en un *r* et en un *a* par le bras (l'ancien *ain*). Dans les papyrus démotiques à transcriptions grecques le même disque solaire désignant le soleil (𓇳) est, au contraire, transcrit ρη, prononciation moderne qui est celle du Copte,

[2] NOTE.—As these remarks seem necessary for the development of M. Revillout's argument, they have been allowed to remain. But it may be as well to remind the reader that they represent M. Revillout's own opinions merely, and that the Society must in no way be associated with the condemnation of the method in question.—EDITOR.

[3] L'analyse de ce mémoire, qui a été publiée dans les comptes-rendus de l'Académie pendant la commune, n'a pu être corrigé par moi. On a laissé des blancs à la place de mots qu'on n'avait pu lire dans mon manuscrit.

où le soleil se dit ⲣⲏ. Nous voyons donc ici une ancienne voyelle *a* vocalisée à son tour ⲏ aux époques basses. Mais cet *êta* ne se prononçait pas alors *i*, nous en avons la preuve par les autres transcriptions déjà citées, c'est-à-dire par le son 𓏺𓏺 = 𓏺𓏺𓅱 servant aussi à rendre *e*. Il faut donc renoncer à le transcrire partout *ri*, même aux époques hiéroglyphiques, alors qu'il se prononçait certainament *ra*,—comme il faut renoncer à voir des *i* partout, ainsi que l'a fait l'éminent Égyptologue que je vise.

Les mêmes papyrus démotiques à transcriptions[4] nous renseignent, du reste, sans cesse, sur les changements que l'usage moderne avait apportés à la prononciation des mots et des syllabiques les mieux connus de la langue antique.

S'il est un fait bien établi par ces transcriptions, c'est la lecture constante *a* pour 𓄿 = 𓂝 = 𓂝. On en a des centaines d'exemples. L'*ain*, dont le signe graphique phénicien est devenu notre *o*, était donc un *a* comme 𓄿 = 𓄿 = *a*, et 𓄿 = 𓏺 = *a*, dont les transcriptions grecques se trouvent des centaines de fois aussi dans ces papyrus à la même époque, c'est-à-dire dans les premiers siècles de notre ère. Le son *o*, *ω* ou *ωω*, ne se trouve que pour le syllabique 𓄿𓄿 = 𓄿𓄿, dont mon illustre maître De Rougé voulait faire un *a* redoublé, un *aa*.

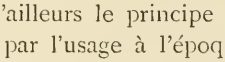
Le groupe 𓄿𓄿 = 𓄿𓄿 est même pris comme une voyelle simple pour rendre le son *o*, non plus seulement dans les transcriptions du démotique en grec mais dans celles du grec en démotique.

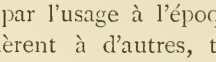
Mais ce n'est pas là l'unique transformation vocale qu'a subie la lettre 𓄿 = 𓂝 = *a*, redoublé ou non.

Dans certains cas, le même syllabique 𓄿𓄿 = *aa*, avait encore changé de prononciation, selon le sens du mot.[5] Ainsi, si 𓄿𓄿 = 𓄿𓄿, "grand," continuait toujours à se prononcer "aa," ou *o*, *ω*, *ωω*, etc., le mot 𓄿𓄿𓄿𓄿 = "âne," est alors lu ⲓⲱ (nom copte de l'âne) et le mot 𓄿𓄿𓄿, "lin," est lu ⲉⲓ (ⲉⲓⲁⲁⲩ en Copte).

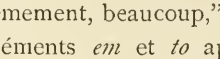
[4] On pourra consulter sur toutes ces questions de transcriptions grecques, les planches que j'ai fait annexer à la métrique démotique, et par conséquent à ma lettre.

[5] Parfois aussi un syllabique était dialectalement diversement prononcé. Le syllabique 𓄿 = 𓄿 *sa*, transcrit ⲥⲁ par les bilingues, prend, dans le mot 𓏺𓄿𓄿, parfois les compéments 𓏺𓅱 = ⲉ ou 𓏺𓏺 = ⲓ (*cf.* ⲥⲉⲓ rassasié en Copte).

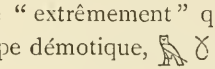


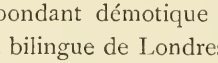


Une transformation analogue se remarque pour [hieroglyphs] = [hieroglyphs], "maison," qui est toujours prononcé ⲏⲓ, prononciation moderne qui se retrouve en Copte.



Là ne s'arrêta pas, d'ailleurs le principe des transformations de prononciations imposées par l'usage à l'époque basse. Parfois des mots entiers se substituèrent à d'autres, toujours traditionnellement écrits à l'ancienne manière. Le correspondant démotique signe à [hieroglyphs], "extremement, beaucoup," se prononce *mato*, et prend parfois les compléments *em* et *to* appropriés, parceque la langue moderne (qui se trouve en Copte sous la forme ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ), traduisait aussi la pensée "extrêmement" que les anciens lisaient *emšešma*. Le même groupe démotique, [hieroglyphs], servit aussi à rendre le verbe copte homophone ⲙⲁⲧⲉ, "possidere," dans certains contrats.





De même, le correspondant démotique de [hieroglyph] se lisant [hieroglyphs] a fini par prendre, dans la bilingue de Londres, la valeur τευ ou δευ, parceque le vent se dit ⲧⲏⲩ en Copte.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTE ON THE PARENTAGE OF AMENHETEP III.

By Percy. E. Newberry.

It appears to have always been taken for granted that as Amenhetep III succeeded Thothmes IV, he was a son of that king, and an inscription in the tomb of the Royal Scribe Horemheb, at Thebes, has often been cited in corroboration of the (supposed) fact. If this inscription, however, be carefully examined, and if the other data on the subject be also taken into account, it will be seen that the evidence conclusively shows another relationship, namely that Amenhetep III was a son of Amenhetep II, and, consequently, a younger brother of Thothmes IV. The data on the subject are as follows :—

(1) In the tomb of Heq-er-neheh, dated in the reign of Thothmes IV, is an important scene (published by Lepsius, *D.* iii, 65), which shows Thothmes IV as a child, but wearing all the insignia of royalty, seated upon the knee of his tutor, Heq-reshu. Behind the young king stands a prince named Amenhetep, accompanied by his tutor Heq-er-neheh and six other princes. This scene can only be taken as representing a family group, and as we cannot suppose that a boy like Thothmes IV (who was still in charge of his tutor when he came to the throne) could have had seven sons at so early an age, we must admit that these princes were all sons of Amenhetep II. That the young prince Amenhetep, who figures in this scene, was afterwards the king Amenhetep III, has been generally admitted; this family scene is therefore one point in favour of Amenhetep III being a son of Amenhetep II, and not of Thothmes IV.

(2) More important still is the fact that Thothmes IV was hardly more than a youth when he died : his age at his death is stated by Dr. Elliot Smith, who has recently very carefully examined the mummy, to have been between twenty-four and twenty-five years. Now, we cannot well suppose him to have been married and had

issue before his fourteenth year, if, indeed even then. Yet we know from the "Bull Hunt" scarab of Amenhetep III, that the king was already married to Queen Thŷï sometime in or before the second year of his reign; Thothmes IV, therefore, if the father of Amenhetep III, cannot well have been more than twelve years old when his son was born, which is, to say the least, extremely improbable.

These two pieces of evidence make it exceedingly probable that Amenhetep III was not a son of Thothmes IV; but there is another datum which conclusively shows that he was a son of *Amenhetep II*, and this, strangely enough, is the inscription which has always been quoted as representing Amenhetep III as a son of Thothmes IV. This inscription runs:—

This inscription has always been mis-read, "Aa-kheperu-Ra (Amenhetep II), his son Men-kheperu-Ra (Thothmes IV), his (Thothmes IV's) son Neb-maat-Ra (Amenhetep III)." But, on the analogy of innumerable inscriptions on stelae and in private tombs where relationships are stated, the personal suffix *ef* must here, in each case, refer to Amenhetep II. The text, therefore, runs:—"Aa-kheperu-Ra (Amenhetep II), his son Men-kheperu-Ra (Thothmes IV), and his (Amenhetep II's) son Neb-maat-Ra (Amenhetep III)." Here, therefore, we have a precise statement of the fact that Amenhetep III was a son of Amenhetep II.

P.S.—Since the above was written, M. Maspero calls my attention to a dedication inscription in the Temple of El Kab (*L.D.*, III, 80B), in which Amenhetep III speaks of "*his father Thothmes IV.*" The word used, however, is *tef*, which is often used in the sense of "ancestor," and in this case may possibly mean "regnal ancestor," or "predecessor in title."

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C., on Wednesday, November 11th, 1903, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

F. Legge: "Some Egyptian Ivories."

Rev. Dr. Löwy: "Notes on Lilith."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
——————— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
——————— La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
——————— La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte.
AMIAUD, A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
Berlin Museum. Ægyptische Urkunden.
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BISSING, BARON VON, "Metalgefässe" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
BUDGE, E. A. WALLIS, *Litt. D.*, "The Mummy."
——————————————— Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862–1873.
CRUM, W. E., "Coptic Monuments" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
DARESSY, G., "Ostraca" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).
——————— "Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).
DELITZSCH, Das Babylonische Weltschopfungs Epos.
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
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Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.

GOLÉNISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
——————— Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection de.
GRANT-BEY, Dr., The Ancient Egyptian Religion and the Influence it exerted on the Religions that came in contact with it.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
HOMMEL, Dr., Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. 1892.
JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.
JOACHIM, H., Papyros Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
KUSSMETTER, Der Occultesmus des Altertums des Akkader, Babyloner, Chaldaer, &c.
LEDERER, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berücksichtigung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.
LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2me partie. "Osiris."
LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
LEHMANN, Samassumukin König von Babylonien 668 v. Chr., p. xiv, 173; 47 plates.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
MARIETTE, "Monuments divers."
——————— "Dendera."
MARUCHI, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia.
MASPERO, G., "Annales du service des Antiquités de l'Egypte.
MÜLLER, D. H., Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien.
POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
——————— Recherches sur la Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.
SCHOUW, Charta papyracea graece scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
STRAUSS and TORNEY, Der Altägyptische Götterglaube
VISSER, I., Hebreeuwsche Archaeologie. Utrecht, 1891.
WALTHER, J., Les Découvertes de Nineve et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890.
WILCKEN, M., Actenstücke aus der Königl. Bank zu Theben.
WILTZKE, Der Biblische Simson der Ägyptische Horus-Ra.
WINCKLER, HUGO, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna Vols. I and II.
——————— Textbuch-Keilinschriftliches zum Alten Testament.
WESSELEY, C., Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El Fajum.
Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
ZIMMERN, H., Die Assyriologie als Hülfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1903.

Sixth Meeting, 11th November, 1903.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S.*

IN THE CHAIR.

OBITUARY.

July, 1903.
REV. S. KINNS, *Ph.D.*
W. J. HAYWOOD.

October, 1903.
MISS S. PECKOVER.

November, 1903. SIR C. NICHOLSON, *Bart., D.C.L.*

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From E. J. Pilcher.—"Die Gesetze Ḫammurabis;" by Dr. Winckler.

From the Author, H. Winckler.—"Abraham als Babylonier;" "Joseph als Ægypter."

From the Author, Prof. J. Capart.—"Recueil de monumens Egyptiens."

From J. Pollard.—"Greek papyri from the Cairo Museum;" by E. J. Goodspeed.

——— "Letter on the German Emperor's criticism on Babel und Bibel;" by Prof. Harnack.

From the Author, G. Legrain.—"Le Temple et les Chapelles d'Osiris à Karnak," and "Notes prises à Karnak."

From W. H. Rylands, *F.S.A.*—"Games Ancient and Oriental, and how to play them;" by E. Falkener.

From the Authoress, the Hon. Miss E. M. Plunkett.—"Ancient Calendars and Constellations."

From the Author, Dr. J. H. Breasted.—"The Battle of Kadesh."

From the Author, Dr. Gaster.—"The Chronicles of Jerahmeel."

From F. Legge.—"A Short History of Ancient Peoples;" by R. Soutar, *M.A.*, *D.C.L.*

The following Candidates for Membership were elected :—

George Bell, Dunedin, New Zealand.
E. Meyer, 60, Ladbroke Grove, W.
Major-General Jago Trelawney, Liskeard, Cornwall.
G. Legrain, Karnak, Thebes, Egypt.
D. Paton, 15, Wall Street, New York.
Dr. Hocken, Dunedin, New Zealand.

The following Paper was read :—

PROF. PETRIE: "Notes on the XIXth and XXth Egyptian dynasties."

The Rev. Dr. Walker, the Secretary, and the Chairman joined in the discussion which followed, and the thanks of the Meeting were voted to Prof. Petrie.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By Prof. Edouard Naville, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*

(*Continued from page* 242.)

CHAPTER CLV.

Chapter of the Tat of gold. (1)

Here is thy backbone,(2) thou still-heart! here is thy spine, thou still-heart! Put it close to thee. I have given thee the water thou wantest. (3) Here it is. I have brought to thee the Tat, in which thy heart rejoiceth.

Said on a Tat of gold inlaid into the substance of sycamore-wood, and dipped into juice of ankhamu. If it is put on the neck of this Chu, he arrives at the doors of the Tuat, and he comes forth by day, even though he be silent. The Tat is put in its place on the first day of the year, as is done to the followers of Osiris.

Notes.

After the interruption due to Chapters 153 and 154, we revert to the series inaugurated by 151, the description of the chamber in which the mummy is deposited, and of the funeral equipment of the deceased, his amulets and ornaments. The papyrus III, 93 (Pb); of the Louvre, throws several of these Chapters into one, with the title: *the description of the hidden things of the Tuat*, and the vignette (Pl. LV) represents three figures of Chapter 151: the statuette, the torch or flame, and the Anubis; besides two *Tat* of different substances, one of them for the wall, and one to be put on the neck of the deceased, and a buckle.

The vignette of Chapter 155 represents a Tat of gold. The various versions of the Chapter differ mostly in the rubric. I followed the papyrus of Nebseni (Aa), filling up the gaps from other texts.

1. The rubric seems to explain that the text refers to a Tat of gold, which is inlaid into the wood of a mummy-shaped coffin, on the neck, and which holds fast by means of the sap or gum of a tree or fruit called *ankhamu*.

2. This shows that the Tat is originally a conventional representation of a backbone.

3. The juice or gum just mentioned, in which the Tat is dipped.

CHAPTER CLVI.

Chapter of the buckle of carnelian, which is put on the neck of the deceased.

The blood of Isis, the virtue of Isis; the magic power of Isis, the magic power of the Eye are protecting this the Great one; they prevent any wrong being done to him.

This Chapter is said on a buckle of carnelian dipped into the juice of ankhamu, inlaid into the substance of the sycamore-wood, and put on the neck of the deceased.

Whoever has this Chapter read to him, the virtue of Isis protects him; Horus the son of Isis rejoices in seeing him, and no way is barred to him, unfailingly.

Notes.

M. Maspero, who made a special study of this Chapter (*Le chapitre de la boucle, Comptes Renaus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Bell. Lettres*, 1871), has shown that there are several recensions. This, which is probably the oldest, is taken from the papyrus of Nebseni, with a few additions from texts of the same date.

The protective power of the buckle is shown in the vignette of Chapter 93, where a buckle with human hands grasps the deceased by the left arm, and prevents him from going towards the East.

CHAPTER CLVII.

Chapter of the vulture of gold, put on the neck of the deceased.

Isis has arrived; she hovers over the dwellings, and she searches all the hidden abodes of Horus when he comes out of the Northern marshes, knocking down him whose face is evil.

She causes him to join the Bark, and grants him the sovereignty over the worlds.

When he has fought a big fight, he decrees what must be done in his honour; he causes fear of him to arise, and he creates terror.

His mother, the Great one, uses her protective power, which she has handed over to Horus.

Said on a vulture of gold. If this Chapter is written on it, it protects the deceased, the powerful one, on the day of the funeral, undeviatingly for times infinite.

Notes.

This and the two following Chapters have not been found in the old recension. They are taken from the Turin text.

The vignette represents a vulture with outspread wings, which is often found made of cartonnage on the mummies. The same bird is often painted on the ceilings of tombs or temples.

CHAPTER CLVIII.

Chapter of the collar of gold, put on the neck of the deceased.

O my father! my brother! my mother Isis! I am unveiled and I am seen. I am one of the unveiled ones, who see Seb.

Said on a collar of gold, on which this Chapter has been written, and which is put on the neck of the deceased, the day of his burial.

CHAPTER CLIX.

Chapter of the column of green Felspar, (1) *put on the neck of the deceased.*

O thou who comest out every day, in the divine house, she who has a big voice, who goeth round . . . . . She takes hold of the potent formulæ of her father, the mummy which is on the bull. (2) She is Renent . . . . . .

Said on a column of green Felspar, on which this Chapter has been written, and which is put on the neck of the deceased.

Notes.

The vignette of this Chapter and the next, show distinctly that the is a miniature column or tent-pole, with the papyrus capital, and papyrus leaves at the base.

This Chapter is taken from the Turin text; parts of it are quite unintelligible.

1. , a mineral which has not yet been determined. Brugsch calls it "Opal." Lepsius thought its colour was blue. Dr. Budge translates "mother-of-emerald." Renouf's translation is "green Felspar" (see Chapter 29B, note).

2. The mummy carried off by the Apis bull, a representation often seen on the coffins after the XXIInd dynasty.

CHAPTER CLX.

Giving the column of green Felspar.

I am the column of green Felspar, which cannot be crushed, (1) and which is raised by the hand of Thoth.

Injury is an abomination for it. If it is safe, I am safe; if it is not injured, I am not injured; if it receives no cut, I receive no cut.

Said by Thoth: arise, come in peace, lord of Heliopolis, lord who resides at Pu.

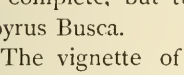
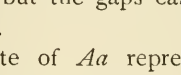
When Shu has arrived, he found the stone at Shenemu, as its name is *neshem*. He (the deceased) makes his abode in the enclosure of the great god; whilst Tmu resides in his dwelling; (2) his limbs will never be crushed.

Notes.

For Chapter 160, we have a text from London, 9900 (*Aa*); it is not complete, but the gaps can very easily be filled up from the Papyrus Busca.

The vignette of *Aa* represents Thoth bringing the column, enclosed in a box or a casket.

1. I suppose the symbolical expressions of this Chapter mean that the *neshem*, of which the column is made, is a very hard stone, which is proof against any injury.

 or  , which I translated "crush," means probably "grind to powder," and , "to receive a cut," means to be scratched or incised by a sculptor's tool. The power of the amulet consists in making the body of the deceased as hard as *neshem*.

2. , a variant of when it refers to Tmu (Nav., *Todt.*, ch. XVII, l. 12).

CHAPTER CLXI.

Chapter of unfastening the opening in the sky. Thoth does it so that it may be finished when he opens (the sky) with Aten. (1)

Rā (2) is living, the tortoise (3) is dead. The body has been offered in the earth; the bones have been offered of *N.* [The West wind of Isis]. (4)

Rā is living, the tortoise is dead. It is safe that is in the funeral chest of *N.* [The East wind of Nephthys.]

Rā is living, the tortoise is dead, the limbs are well wrapped up. Kebehsenef is to keep watch over them for *N.* [The North wind of Osiris.]

Rā is living, the tortoise is dead. His wrappings have been opened; they reveal his figure. [The South wind of Rā.]

Everybody who has these figures on his coffin, the four openings of the sky are open to him; one in the North, it is the wind of Osiris; one in the South, it is the wind of Aah (the moon); one in the West, it is the wind of Isis; one in the East, it is the wind of Nephthys. Every one of these winds, which are at his entrance when he wants it, breathes into his nostrils.

Let no one outside know it, it is a mystery which is not known to the common people. Do not reveal it to any one, may he be thy father or thy son, except thyself. It is a real mystery, and every one of these things is unknown to all men.

Notes.

This Chapter is so short in the old recension (Paris, III, 93) that it could hardly be understood without the rubric of the Turin text. The four Thoths, each of whom opens a door, are the four winds, coming from the four cardinal points (*Zeitschr. für Aeg. Sprache*, 1877, p. 28).

We have already learned from Chapter 59 that it is one of the privileges of the deceased to have the command of the four winds.

1. The title is obscure. I suppose that the scribe, who had a very short space at his disposal, left out a word or two.

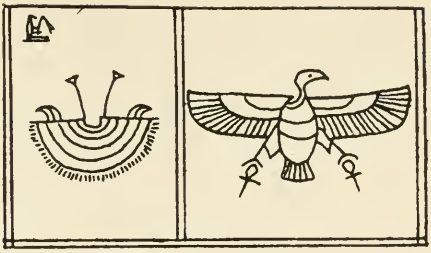
2. Magic formula, which enables Thoth to open the door.

3. See Chapter 83, note 1. Brugsch calls the tortoise the evil principle.

4. The words in brackets, as well as the rubric, are taken from the Turin Todtenbuch.

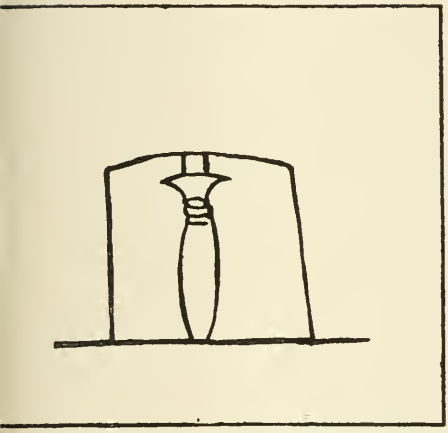
(*To be continued.*)

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

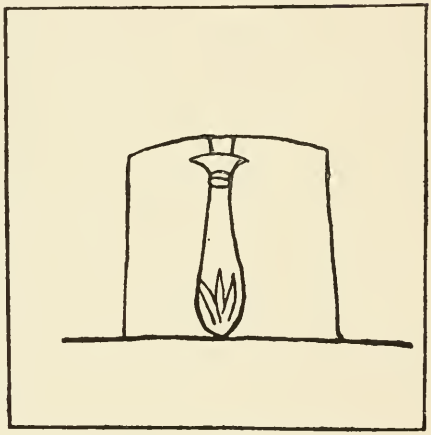


CHAP. 155. CHAP. 156. B.M., 9900.

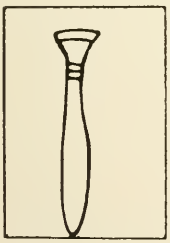
CHAP. 158. CHAP. 157. LEPSIUS, "Todt."



CHAPTER 159. **Leyden Papyrus.**



CHAPTER 160. **Leyden Papyrus.**



CHAPTER 159. LEPSIUS, "Todt."

CHAPTER 160. **B.M., 9900.**

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

By Prof. A. H. Sayce, *LL.D.*, *&c.*

(*Continued from page* 287.)

Distinct from the mother-goddess was Iskhar, borrowed from Babylonia, whose name was denoted by the symbols △ 𓀀, as we learn from the bilingual seal of Indilimma in the Ashmolean Museum. Her name is found in the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites (*Recueil de Travaux*, XV, 22). She is there called "the mistress of the mountains."

Another goddess, who wears a mural crown, and is represented both at Boghaz Keui and at Eyuk, is entitled 𓏏 𓏲 𓏭 𓏲 "the goddess Asma" or "Sima" (or does it mean "ass's town"?) She, again, was a deified city, perhaps that represented by the ruins of Eyuk. Ashima, however, was a Hamathite divinity (2 Kings xvii, 30).[1]

Sandan, on the other hand, is not depicted at Boghaz Keui. He seems to have been peculiarly the god of Tarsus and its neighbourhood, where he was identified with the Greek Hêraklês in his character of workman and drainer of the marsh. At Ivriz he is represented as "the Baal of Tarsus," as on the coins of the city, with a corn-stalk in the one hand and clusters of grapes in the other.[2]

[1] On the Mer'ash Lion 5 we may possibly have a deity *Is-s-yu-ma*. Simi, according to Melito, was a goddess of Hierapolis-Mabug, the later successor of Carchemish.

[2] At Bulgar Maden 5 we read of DET. *m-e-u-m-n* DET. *Sanda-ya ana*-DET., "the priest of Sandan the city-god," and the neighbouring city of Kybistra, or Kyzistra, bore in Greek times the name of Herakleia. The Bulgar Maden

But elsewhere it was rather the warlike than the agricultural Hêraklês whose character he bore. On the Hittite monument found at Babylon it is the god Hadad or Dada, the Resheph of the Aramæans, who is sculptured with the thunderbolt in his hand. Nevertheless the accompanying inscription commemorates the same god 𒀭𒌨 𒀭 as the inscription at Ivriz. Whether the ideograph was pronounced in the same way in the two cases may be questioned; we know that Tessub was the Hadad of Mitanni, and there is plenty of evidence to show that Tessub or Tessup was also recognised by the Hittites of Northern Syria. Among the Hittite names recorded on the Egyptian monuments are Tal-tisubu and Aki-tisubu; in the geographical list of Thothmes III we find Thithupa (No. 338), which appears as Thisupu in the list of Rameses III, and therefore is certainly Tessub; while Dr. Scheil has discovered a fragmentary Assyrian inscription in which reference is made to ". . -Tesub king of the Hittites." That Tesub was at home in Kummukh or Comagênê we know from the royal names Kili-Tesub, the son of Kali-Tesub and Sadi-Tesub, the son of Khattu-sar. But the god was perhaps borrowed from Mitanni; at all events we do not find his name among the western Hittites, where it is replaced by Sandan. If Sada-halis, king of the Hittites in the neighbourhood of Milid, who is mentioned in the Vannic

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inscription, it may be added, begins with the words *a-na-a-me-i Sanda-da-n*-ID.-*yas*, "The king (am) I Sandaniyas," where the ideograph is the determinative of the demonstrative pronoun, from which it acquired the phonetic value of *yâ*. Sandaniyas would be the Greek Σανδώνιος, "of the city of Sandês;" hence the det. of "city" is attached to it. The same is in the Bor inscription, lines 2, 3: DET. *Sanda-da-yas-n a-sis* (?) ID.-*ta-is*, "the sacred cone of Sandes as before (?)," the ideograph representing two boots walking backward, and therefore, I believe, denoting what has gone before. In the inscription of Agrak, near Kaisariyeh, we have the two proper names Sanda-is and Sandaya-ghas. Sandais presents us with the same formation as Tarkhais, the name of a town in the Hittite region in the geographical lists of Ramses III at Medînet Habu, and the names Nineis, Babeis, Artemeis, found in the Greek inscriptions of Cilicia. Sandaya-ghas (where I represent the oblique line of the original by a hyphen) may be a patronymic; at all events the form is the same as that of Sandakos the founder of Kelenderis (Apollod. III, 14, 3, 1). We may also compare Khal-kis near the mouth of the Khalos in the neighbourhood of Aleppo. For the derivative Sanda-mes, see above, p. 149. As Sandan is represented by the figure of the Semitic Hadad or Dada on the monument of Babylon, I believe that the name of the king of Azalli called Dadu-imme by Assur-nazir-pal (III, 59) should be transcribed Sandaimme.

inscriptions, stands for Sanda-halis, the dividing line between the two names would practically be the Taurus mountains and the river Pyramus.[1]

The minor divinities of the Hittite populations must have been numerous if we may judge from the compound proper names. The local divinities were probably each distinguished by a name which was often identical with that of the State, and how multitudinous they were is shown by the Treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites, in which we read of "Sutekh the lord of heaven; Sutekh of the land of the Hittites, Sutekh of Aranna, Sutekh of Zanu-arnda," &c. (*Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899 p. 194.) Besides Tarku, Tarkhu or Targa, Sanda or Sandan, and Tessub, we find Luba or Liba, Sapa or Subbi, Garpa or Girpa,[2] Aitu or Eta, Uas, Khila and Mur,[3] while Greek inscriptions give us A and Ia, Ain, Kida, Ma, Nen, Oa or Ua (the cuneiform Uas), Opra, Upra or Ubra, Rhô, Tbera and Tedi. Kanza may be detected in Cappadocia as well as Rhege, while Nana, Nin, and Nineps were doubtless borrowed from the Assyrians. Perhaps Megessaros, the father-in-law of Sandakos and grandfather of Kinyras, conceals the name of a god Mege. The daughter of Megessaros, it may be observed, was Thenakê,[4] whom I would identify with Tanakun, a city captured by Shalmaneser II on his way to Tarsus. That the Assyrian *sar*, "king," had been borrowed by the Cilicians we know from the fact that the Saros on which Tarsus stood derived its name from a word that meant "king."[5]

I must now return to Sandan and the goddess of Carchemish, or rather to the seals on which their names are found. One of these is in the possession of Dr. Hayes Ward. Here the two

[1] At Aleppo it would seem that Sandon was represented by Gar(pa). See above, p. 286, footnote.

[2] Garpa is probably the same as the god Gar, whose name forms the first element in the compound name Gar-damas, which is coupled with Khila-mmes on the Bowl. With Gar-damas comp. the (Kh)ir-damu of the bilingual seal. Since, however, Garpa seems to have been the equivalent of Sandan at Aleppo, the character *da* may also have the value of *pa*, enabling us to read Garpa-mas.

[3] Sandan was worshipped in Cilicia under the name of Morrheus (Nonnus, *Dion.*, XXXIV, 188).

[4] Apollod., III, 14, 3, 1. Megessaros is called king of Hyria on the Calycadnus.

[5] Another deity was Kamis, who, I believe, was borrowed from the Semitic Chemosh. His name is certified by the Cilician and Karian Kamis-sares, the father of Datames.

divinities are mentioned together, Sandan taking the first place. They are symbolised by a twisted serpent with a stag's head. The Telmessian oracle told the Lydians that the serpent was "the child of the soil," and thus a fitting emblem of a god who is depicted at Ivriz as a husbandman. The stag's head reminds us of a passage in S. Basil (*De Mirac. S. Theclæ*, II, 15), where the "city of Damalis and Hêraklês Sandas" is spoken of. This is usually held to mean Tarsus, of which Sandan was said to have been the founder (Amm. Marc. xiv, 8, 3).[1] Damalis, "the heifer," is probably the Greek equivalent of some local form of the name of the goddess.

On the Lajard seal the goddess of Cachemish is coupled with the god whose name is preceded by hers. The name of the god is written in J. II, 2,[2] where it is followed by the phonetic complement *-me*. While the Hayes Ward seal, therefore, seems to come from the district of Tarsus or Kybistra, the Lajard seal is connected with Carchemish. The two deities are represented in it by a winged Assur, in which the figure of a human god rises from the body of a bird. The bird, it will be remembered, is the symbol of Khila, and we may accordingly conclude that the god was identified with Assur, "the king of the gods." This brings us to Aramis, who in a compound Hittite name, as was pointed out years ago by Dr. Pinches, is similarly entitled "the king of the gods" (Aramis-sar-ilani).[3] Now Prof. Sachau has shown that Arma was a Cilician divinity, who was frequently metamorphosed into the Greek Hermês in proper names of the Greek period (*Zeitsch. f. Ass.*, VII, pp. 95, 96). Provisionally, therefore, we may identify the god . . . *me*, the associate of Khila, with Aramis.[4]

[1] See Ed. Meyer, *Z.D.M.G.*, XXXI, pp. 737, 738. On the other hand it must be remembered that, according to Macrobius (*Sat.* I, 17), the image of the god of Hierapolis, or Mabug, had an eagle by the side of it, and at the foot the figures of three goddesses surrounded by a serpent.

[2] It is perhaps worth remarking, that the six satellites of the "Seal character" are represented by angular projections when cut in an inscription.—W.H.R.

[3] The name occurs in a letter K. 11 (Harper, 186), which makes mention of "the city of the Carchemisians." On the other hand the ideograph in J. 1, 5, interchanges with *Sarmes* rather than with *Arameyas* in the compound Sarmes-arameyas, "king of the city," or "Melkarth," but it is the same deity that is referred to—the male consort of the goddess of Carchemish.

[4] In Palanga 3 the name of the god in question stands between those of Sandan and a third god whose name is doubtful. Another possible name would

On the other side of the Lajard seal is a figure of the winged horse. The same figure is found on a seal belonging to M. de Clerq and accompanied by the Hittite characters *Da-s*. The winged horse is the Pegasos of the Greeks, from which Bellerophon fell when attempting to mount to heaven, like the Babylonian hero Etana, who similarly attempted to scale the sky on the back of an eagle. Bellerophon was a Lycian hero, and we learn from Homer (*Il.* 200–3) that after his fall, when he had become hateful to the gods, he wandered in the Alêian plain. The Alêian plain extended from the Pyramus westward to Tarsus, and must have included the city of Adana on the Saros. The form Ἀλήιος presupposes an original Ἀλάσιος, in which I see the Alasia of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the Elishah of Genesis x, 4. The Lukki or Lycians, according to the Tel el-Amarna tablets, were subject to the jurisdiction of the king of Alasia; Lykaonia was not far distant from the Alêian plain, and Elishah, the grandson of Japhet, the Cilician Iapetos, was the brother of Tarshish or Tarsus, Kittim or Cyprus, and Rodanim or Rhodes. The winged horse claims kindred with the Chimæra, and with the composite animals of Hittite art.

The Hittite names in the Egyptian inscriptions.

Before concluding this Paper something must be said about the Hittite names in the Egyptian inscriptions to which reference has so often been made. The corrected names of the cities mentioned in the Treaty between Ramses II and his Hittite enemies are given in the *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, pp. 195 *sqq.* To these may be added some of the names in the geographical lists of Rameses III at Medinet Habu, of which the number is very large. One of the lists which

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be Simi. Simi, according to Melito in his Apology (Cureton: *Spicileg. Solesmense*, II, p. xliv), was the daughter of the supreme god Hadad, and put an end to the attacks of a demon by filling with sea-water the pit in which he lived. I believe that the name of Simi is contained in that of a certain Abed-simios whom an epitaph at Trévcs (C.I.G., 9892) describes as belonging to a city identified by Dr. J. H. Mordtmann with Addana or Adana, the modern Dana between Aleppo and Antioch. The ideograph is probably identical with that found in a fragment from Mer'ash (Messerschmidt, XXIII, c. 2, as corrected by photographs), where we have DET.-*na*-(*s*?) "the god," followed by the ideograph in question and a broken character which may be *al*. Then we have "the chief" of a "district," the first syllable of which is expressed by the same ideograph, followed by the human head on a pole and *mâ*.

follows a campaign that proceeded from the frontiers of Egypt, through Gaza and Mount Carmel, to the extreme north, carries us past Sannur or Shenir (Mount Hermon), Amata or Hamath and Karna or Qarnê, to Tursi, Ḳali, and Malth. Tursi may be the Tiras of Genesis x, 2, Ḳali, elsewhere regarded as the extreme boundary of Egyptian knowledge in the north, seems in the light of the Tel el-Amarna tablets to be Khali-rabbat, the territory of Milid, and in Malth, which is also written Mil, I see Milid itself.

Another list begins with Karna and Atu, the Atu-geren of Thothmes III, which is followed by Tarbus, written Tarbu by Thothmes III with the case-ending omitted. I would identify it with Tarbuśip, transformed by the Assyrians into Tul-barśip, the modern Birejik, where the *p* suffix of Mitannian has been attached to the name. A little further on we have Tarkhais, by the side of the Tarkha of Thothmes III, obviously so called from the god Tarkhu or Tarku. The next name, Ames-tark, also appears to contain the name of the god.[1] Towards the end of the list (which concludes with Kaqth, the Gaga(ti) of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, we find Nabur. This must be Nibur the Assyrian name of the Taurus. The name is preceded by Tuna (or according to M. Daressy's reading Suna), and followed by Irp, which forms the first element in Arpu-sunni, a name that occurs earlier in the list.[2]

Another list contains the names of Puthr or Pethor, Khaleb (Aleppo or Helebi), Amanu or Amanus, Mathna or Mitanni, and Karkamas Uru "Carchemish the city" (the word *uru* being an indication that the list is copied from a cuneiform original). Afterwards come Kannu or Canneh, Kil-sunn(a) with the determinative of house marking the second element in the name, and Mur-nus or Mulnus, possibly Mallos.

[1] In B.M. 2, *a-mis* with the determinative of "city" must mean "town" or something similar. See also M. *Front*, I, 3, Ames-tark will therefore be "township of Tarku." Cp. names like Das-Tarkon, Kas-Tabala.

[2] Irp and Arpu may be compared with the Khattinian city of Aripua mentioned by Assur-nazir-pal. Suna would be represented in Hittite by , which is actually the name of the country over which the Carchemish king Mitas(?) is said to rule in J. I, 1, as well as (apparently) of that over which the Malatiyeh king held sway.

(*To be continued.*)

SOME EGYPTIAN ARAMAIC DOCUMENTS.

By A. Cowley, *M.A.*

(*Continued from page* 266.)

OSTRAKA — *continued.*

Ostrakon II. (From Elephantine, belonging to Prof. Sayce.)

Concave Side.

1. [ש]לם מן באלף כענת . .
2. [נת]ן לי איתי ידע וכן לי .
3. זי אמרת לכי אנתתא . . .
4. לך יומא זנה ועל . .
5. . . יא בר ית[מ]א [בר] נתן
6. . . ידע עליך אב אן
7. . . . . י תת . . . . .
8. . . . לם עד . . . .
9. . . . זמן

Convex Side blank.

Concave Side.

L. 1. באלף is very uncertain. The name apparently occurs also in Ostrakon IV. I have not found it elsewhere.

L. 3. אנתתא or possibly ונתתי.

L. 5. יא . . apparently a name. For the termination *cf.* אוריא (as well as אוריה) in Ostrakon I. This would seem to be the person to whom the papyrus relates.

L. 8. זמן. In Ostrakon IV we have אסמן (concave, l. 1) and כוכן (*ib.*, l. 8), both proper names.

Ostrakon III. (From Elephantine, belonging to Prof. Sayce.)

Convex Side.

1. . . . לברי שרף . . .
2. . . . רושע לי
3. . . שע . . . . . .
4. . . . . .

Concave Side.

1. . . . לאחוך מי . . .
2. . . . . אלך כענת ש . . .
3. . . . הוית הן א . . .
4. . . . לי לשממך ש . . .
5. . . . לבית . . .

Convex Side.

Perhaps the address of the letter on the other side.
Above line 3 is מכן, belonging to the lower writing.

Concave Side.

L. 2. Not באלף as in Ostrakon II, l. 1.

This fragment seems to be by a different hand from the others. There are several marks of its being palimpsest.

Ostrakon IV, Brit. Mus., No. 14219. (From Elephantine. *C.I.S.*, No. 138.)

CONVEX SIDE.

1. . . . צחא בר חברטיסן
2. . . . תנון והן אמרו
3. . . . חרתבא ובאלף חברטיס[ן]
4. . . . ן לן על פוחרך אמר
5. . . . . הבתם לה סון ו
6. . . . . לא יהב לן
7. . . . . מלכיה סון
8. . . . . טנתר בר
9. . . . . [ב]אלף

CONCAVE SIDE.

1. ועל אסמן בר . . .
2. באלף מנחמן זי ה . . .
ס
3. וידניה גשוריא מ . . .
4. ושאל על פטוסרי . . .
5. שחומו באלף ו . . .
6. ושאל על הנ . . .
7. פטחרפחרט . . .
8. בר פומן ס . . .
9. . . בר זפנ . . .

CONCAVE SIDE.

L. 2. באלף or באלו or באלך. In l. 5 it may be באלך.

The hand is like that of Ostrakon I, but not the same.

Ostrakon V. (Berlin, P. 8763. From Elephantine.)

1. אנתי אמרה זי נתנו שקא
2. . . זא . . . נך הנתא מרן לם
3. . . ופרס משחא
4. . . [ז]י למחסיה
5. . . והושרי
6. . . מי

The hand is something like that of Ostrakon I.

Ostrakon VI. (Origin uncertain. Belonging to Prof. Sayce.)

Convex Side.	Concave Side.
1. . . . . וכל זי . .	1. . . . . כ[ס]ף זי אמ . . .
2. . . . ולא פלי עבד .	2. . . . כל רע למי . . .
3. . . . מך לא ידעו . . .	3. . . . . לו אהוה . . .
4. . . . . ל . . ת אל עת . . .	4. . . . . עלי שם . . .

Convex Side.	Concave Side.
L. 3. מך may be מו.	L. 2. רע is very uncertain.
L. 4. לפות(?). עת may be . . . עק.	L. 4. Or . . . שמ.

Perhaps a fragment of a contract or business letter. It is in a different hand from the others; most like Ostrakon III.

NOTE BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

Mr. Cowley has dealt so fully with the Aramaic papyrus and ostraka which I procured at Elephantinê, that he has left me but little to add. They were all found in the *sebakh* on the north side of the mounds which mark the site of the old city, and the papyrus was discovered along with Ostraka I and III in 1900. Ostrakon VI I have had for some years, and cannot tell now whether it came from Karnak or from Elephantinê, as I have mislaid my memorandum in regard to it: most probably it is from Elephantinê like the other Aramaic texts.

In the Persian period Aramaic was the official language of the provinces, and the texts from Elephantinê show us how it was used by the Jewish settlers in Egypt, and throw light on the origin of Biblical Chaldee. The only one which bears a date belongs to the reign of Xerxes, and the mention of the Babylonian coin *khalluru* in the papyrus similarly points to the early part of the Persian epoch. This is further supported by the palæographical evidence. Syênê (סון) is already referred to by Ezekiel (xxix, 10) as on the "border of Cush," and the Jews addressed by Jeremiah (xliv, 1) were not only settled in the Delta and at Memphis, but also in Pathros or Upper Egypt. As Thebes had been destroyed by the Assyrian forces of Assur-bani-pal, the leading city of Upper Egypt at this time would have been Syênê. It will be noticed that סון or Syênê is named in Ostrakon I, *Convex*, 4, as well as in Ostrakon IV, *Convex*, 5, 7.

The papyrus records a loan made by the son of Yathma to an unknown person (X) and Peni (?)-Ptah, upon the whole of which X undertakes to pay interest and eventually to pay the whole sum back. On that portion of the loan which was made to Peni (?)-Ptah the interest charged was at the rate of 2 *khalluru* per 7 shekels (?), while the whole amount of interest to be paid each month upon the money lent to both X and his partner came to 6 (?) *khalluru*. In שז I am inclined to see an abbreviation of שקל and the numeral 7. Mr. Cowley objects that the sum would be too small, but the

khalluru was a small coin and appears as the subdivision of a half-shekel. If the rate of interest were 30 per cent. its value would thus be about 3*d.*, if 20 per cent. about 2*d.*

I believe נבז to be the Old Persian *nibaj*.

Ostrakon II. I would suggest the following approximate translation for the concave side of this ostrakon: "Now see the *khanta* which Uriyah has given me for the master of the house, even Gemariyah the son of Akhio; and he shall appraise the amount of payment and reward (?) for Uriyah in the sight (?) of Petosiris; and he shall go and write it upon his arm in addition to the writing that is upon his arm. Thus he sent, saying that they will not forget the secret message (?) which is written against his name."

חנתא is some technical term, connected with חנה, perhaps signifying "a present," "bakshish," like *sulmânu* in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

With אן compare the Assyrian *ana*, and for the sense of עלא מן see Dan. vi, 3.

I read הלן in line 5.

עלימתה seems to be from עלם, "to lie hid"; *cf.* Ps. xc, 8.

SAHIDIC BIBLICAL FRAGMENTS
IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.
I.

By E. O. Winstedt.

The only apology I can offer—for apology, I feel, is necessary—for adding to the vexations of those who toil in the Dead Sea of Coptic literature is that all the fragments here represented are Biblical, and translations of the Bible seem after all the best literature of which the Copts were capable. The greatest desideratum of Coptic literature is a complete collection of the scattered fragments of the Sahidic version of the Bible; and so a collection of the Sahidic Biblical fragments among recent additions to the Bodleian Library may perhaps be regarded as excusable, if somewhat tedious. The collection makes no pretence of being complete. The chief hunting-ground consists of two boxes,—MSS. Coptic *g.* 1 and *g.* 3,—containing between them some 120 fragments, of which I only succeeded in identifying a few. There is little doubt, however, that some of the remainder are Biblical; but these fragments are mostly small, so small, indeed, that only the occurrence of a proper name or of a striking phrase enabled me to identify the few I have identified. Still, to a professed Coptic and Biblical scholar many words which to me were mute would no doubt speak clearly enough. Other fragments, almost all those contained in *g.* 1, are liturgical or hymnical, and patience might have unearthed some texts in them; but patience is a virtue in which I am sadly lacking.

In calling them Sahidic Biblical fragments I do not of course necessarily imply that they are fragments of Coptic Bibles; indeed, in several instances this will be found to be obviously not the case. Some may be from lectionaries, but that in the case of small fragments is difficult to determine; others are clearly quotations occurring in sermons; one or two perhaps come from biographies; for whatsoever things are written were to the Copt only so many excuses for Biblical quotations and references.

These fragments do not, I fear, add many new verses to those already published: but then, the Sahidic Bible has met with such

rough treatment, that its reconstruction is almost more a matter of verses than of entire books or chapters, though there are, of course, some notable exceptions to this, for instance, the complete papyrus MS. of the Psalms, published by Dr. Budge. One at least of our fragments—the Genesis fragment—is noticeable for considerable divergency from the two published versions; another, that containing part of Matthew xxvii, for its age: the writing can hardly be later than the fifth century. Unfortunately one side of it has been so much rubbed that the letters are often almost or entirely obliterated; and that side suffers too from a malady most incident to such fragments, and exhibited in a more exaggerated form when the parchment is thin, as is, for example, the case with that containing Luke xxii, 29–30:—I allude to the singular perversity of showing most clearly on the one side the letters which are written on the other. In the latter case, the Luke fragment, not even the identification of one side enabled me to make out sufficient consecutive letters to fix precisely the other. Little wonder then that in the case of another fragment, written in a manner which suggests that it is part of a psalm, one side almost entirely defied my attempts to read it, for in this case I did not succeed in identifying the passage, and with fragmentary MSS., as with some alphabets and handwritings, it is wonderful how much more one can read when one knows beforehand what is likely to be there. Fortunately such difficulties are rare in the case of Coptic MSS.: the admirable clearness of the alphabet, so different from the confusions of most Semitic alphabets, leaves little or no room for doubt as to what a letter is, provided only some traces of a letter are reasonably distinct. There is only the demon of time and not the demon of illegibility to fight against. And yet this admirably clear alphabet has given way before the Arabic language and alphabet, to which latter even its most ardent admirers can hardly apply the same adjective. For all that, the Arabic alphabet has foisted itself upon a very Babel of nations and tongues, rendering a beginner's work in those tongues a making of bricks without straw; for, alas! he cannot read a word and then look it out in a dictionary; no, he must first know the word thoroughly well, and then perhaps he may read it. In Egypt, happily, we were at least spared reading Coptic in Arabic letters, for, with the alphabet died the language, except for religious purposes.

Taking the fragments in their Biblical order, the first is *MS. Coptic d.* 2, a single sheet from a paper MS. containing part of

Genesis vii in Coptic and Arabic in parallel columns. The Arabic does not, however, follow the Coptic text, but begins in the middle of *v.* 14.

وجميع الطير وكل عصفور وكل ذى جناح دخل مع نوح اثنان
اثنان من كل جسد فيه روح الحياة

and ends in *v.* 23.

حتى النعام وطاير السمآ و نادوا من الارض.

The Coptic contains *vv.* 13–20.

ⲣ̅ⲃ̅

ⲛ̀ⲛⲱϩⲉ · ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲱϩⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ̀ⲧϣⲟⲙ
ⲧⲉⲛ̀ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉⲛ̀ⲙⲉϥϣⲏ
ⲣⲉⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ · ⲉⲧⲕⲓⲃⲱ
ⲧⲟⲥ · ⲁⲩⲱ̀ⲛⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ·
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ · ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ·
ⲁⲩⲱ̀ϫⲁⲧϥ̀ⲉⲛⲓⲙ
ⲉⲧⲕⲓⲙϩⲭⲙ̀ⲡⲕⲁϩ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ·
ⲁⲩⲱ̀ⲛϩⲁⲗⲏⲧⲏⲙ
ⲉⲧϩⲏⲗ · ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕⲉϩⲟⲩⲏ · ϣⲁ
ⲛⲱϩⲉ · ⲉⲧⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ·
ⲥ̀ⲛⲁⲩ ⲥ̀ⲛⲁⲩ · ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓ̀
ⲉ̀ⲁⲣⲝ̄ⲛⲓⲙ · ⲛⲁⲓ̀ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩ
ⲛⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ̀ⲱⲛϩ̀ⲛϩⲏ
ⲧⲟⲩ · ⲁⲩⲱ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲃⲏⲕ
ⲉ̀ϩⲟⲩⲏ · ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩⲧⲙⲛ̄
ⲟⲩⲥ̀ϩⲓⲙⲉ · ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓ̀ⲥⲁ
ⲣ̀ⲝⲛⲓⲙ · ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕⲉ̀ϩⲟ̄ⲩ̄
ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲑⲉⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ϩⲱⲛⲉ̀ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̀ⲛ̀ⲛⲱϩⲉ
ⲁ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉϣ̀ⲧⲁⲙ

Verso.

ⲣ̅ⲅ̅

ⲉ̀ⲣⲟϥ · ⲛ̀ⲧⲕⲩⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ·
ⲧⲁⲓⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ · ⲁⲩⲱ̀
ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲉⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲡ̀ⲕⲁ
ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲩⲥⲙⲟⲥ · ⲛ̀ϩⲙⲉ
ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲟⲩ · ⲙ̀ⲛ̀ϩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩ
ϣⲏ · ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̀ϩⲓⲭⲛ̀ⲡ̀ⲕⲁϩ
ⲁ ⲩⲱ̀ⲁϥⲁ̀ϣⲁⲓ̀ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲡ̀
ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲁϥϥⲉⲓ̀ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̀ⲛ̀ⲧ
ⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥⲁⲩⲱⲁϥ
ϫⲓ̀ⲥⲉⲉⲡⲕⲁϩ
ⲟⲩⲟⲙⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ·
ⲁⲩⲱⲁϥⲁ̀ϣⲁⲓ̀ⲉⲙⲁ
ⲧⲉϩⲓⲭⲙ̀ⲡ̀ⲕⲁϩⲧⲕⲓ̀ ·
ⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥⲇⲉⲛⲉⲥϣⲉⲉⲓ̀
ⲡⲉϩⲓⲭⲙ̄ⲡ̀ⲙ̄ⲟⲟⲩ · ⲡ̀
ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲇⲉⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲉ̀ⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲉ̀ⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲉ̀ϫⲙ
ⲡ̀ⲕⲁϩ · ⲁⲩⲱⲁϥ
ϩ ⲱⲃ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲟⲟⲩⲛⲓⲙ
ⲉⲧϫⲟⲥⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ̀ⲧϩⲁⲡⲉ
ⲥⲏⲧⲏ̀ⲧⲡⲉ · ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲩ
ⲇ ⲉϫⲓⲥⲉⲉ̀ϫⲱⲟⲩⲙ̀ⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲏⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ̀ⲁϥ
ϩⲱⲃⲥ · ⲛ̄ⲏⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ̀ⲏ

Two versions of this chapter have been published, one from a Borgian MS. by Amelineau (*Recueil de travaux*, 1886) and Ciasca, *Bibl. Frag.*, Vol. I, p. 5; another by G. Maspero, *Memoires*, VI, pp. 7–8. The Bodleian version differs from both the others, especially from the Borgian version, than which it is much more literal. I give below a collation of both, calling the Borgian "B" and Maspero's "M."

ⲣ̅ⲃ̅. 1. ⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ, M.

2. om. ⲙⲛⲱϩⲉ, M. ⲙⲛ̄ ϣⲟⲛ ⲧⲉ, M. ⲙⲛ̄ ϣⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, B.

4–20. ⲉⲧⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ . . . . ⲥⲁⲣⲝⲏⲓⲙ, om. B.

4–7. ϣⲏⲣⲉ · ⲁⲩ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲉⲟⲛⲣⲓⲟⲛ · ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ · ⲙⲛ̄ ϫⲁⲧⲃⲉ, M.

8. ϩⲓⲭ̄ⲙ̄, M.

10. om. ⲛ̇, M.

11. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ, M.

12–13. om. ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁⲛⲱϩⲉ, M. ⲕⲓⲃⲟⲩⲧⲱⲥ, M.

15. ⲛⲁⲓⲉⲟ̇ⲩⲛ̇, M.

21. ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ, M.

20–22. ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ, B.

23. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϣⲧⲁⲙ, M., B.

ⲣ̅ⲅ̅. 1–6. ⲛⲧⲕⲩⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲟⲃⲁ ⲛ̇ⲙⲟϥ · ⲁⲡ[ⲕⲁ]ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲩⲥⲛⲟⲥ [ϣⲱⲡⲉ] ⲉϫⲙ ⲛⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̇ ϩⲟⲟⲩ · ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩϣⲏ], M.

8. ⲁϥϥⲓ, M. ⲉⲧⲕ[ⲩⲃ], M.

12. om. ⲁⲩⲱ, M. ⲁϥⲁⲓⲁⲓ̈, M.

13–18. ⲉⲛⲁⲧ[ⲉ ⲧⲕⲩ]ⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥ ϣ[ⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲓ] ϫⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ M.

20. ϫⲟⲥⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲁ, M.

21. ⲙⲟⲟⲩ, M.

22. om. ⲛ̇, M.

22. ⲛ̇ ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, M.

The Borgian version is so entirely different that it is impossible to collate it with this side, so I copy it.

ϣⲧⲁⲙⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟϩⲉ · ⲁⲛⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁ-
ⲕⲁⲩⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲙ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ · ⲁϥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ ⲧⲕⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈
ⲉ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ̈ⲭⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ · ⲁⲥϣⲉⲉⲓ ⲙⲡ ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ · ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲙ
ⲁϥⲁ̄ϣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲉ ϩⲓ̈ⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁϩ · ⲁⲥϩⲗⲟⲟ̄ⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ · ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲁⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ · ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲙ
ⲉ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲓ̈ⲙ ⲉⲧⲭⲟⲥⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ · ⲁϥϩⲱⲃⲥ̄ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉ̄ⲭⲱⲟⲩ.

MS. Coptic, d. 3, 1 fol. paper. This page is not actually from a Bible, but contains a summary or paraphrase of Exodus xviii and 1 Sam. xvi, 14–16, probably taken from a sermon on taking advice, or something of the kind. The second part—the two verses of Samuel—is almost a literal quotation of the text, the first has been treated rather more freely.

ⲓⲁ ⲓⲩ ⲁⲩ ⲣⲕⲟ

ⲙ̇ⲛ̇ⲗⲁⲟⲥⲉ̇ⲃⲟⲗϩⲙⲡⲕⲁϩⲛ̇ⲕⲛⲙⲉ ·
ⲁⲩⲱⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲟⲣⲡⲉϥϣⲟ[illegible]ⲓⲉⲓϣⲁⲣⲟϥⲉϩ
ⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲉ̇ⲧⲉⲣⲙⲙⲟⲥ · ⲁⲩⲱ⌉[1] ⲧⲉⲣⲉϩ̇ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ̇
ϣⲱⲡⲉ · ⲁ̇ⲛⲱⲩⲥⲛⲥϩ̇ⲙⲟⲟⲥⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉⲛ̄ⲛ̇
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ · ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲛⲗⲁⲟⲥⲁ̇ϩⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ̄ⲉⲣⲟⲩ
ⲭⲓⲛϩ̇ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ̇ϣⲁⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ ·
ⲡⲉⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲟⲣⲛⲁϥⲭⲉⲟⲩⲛⲉⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲉ̇ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ
ⲙ̂ⲙⲟϥ · ⲕ̇ϩⲙⲟⲟ̇ⲥⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲟⲕ ⲁⲩⲱ̇ ⲛ̇ⲗⲁⲟⲥ
ⲁ̇ϩⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ̄ ⲉ̇ⲣⲟⲕ · ⲭⲓⲛ̇ϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ̇ϣⲁⲣⲟ̈ϩⲉ
ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ ⲙⲱⲩ̈ⲥⲛⲥⲭⲉϣⲁⲓ̈ϩ̇ⲙⲟⲟⲥ
ⲕ̇ⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̇ⲛ̇ⲗⲁⲟⲥ · ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̇ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥⲉⲓⲉ
ⲣⲁⲧⲉ̇ϣⲓⲛⲉⲛ̇ⲥⲁⲛ̇ϩⲁⲛ ·
ⲡⲉⲭⲉⲓ̈ⲟⲟⲟⲣⲛ̇ⲟⲩⲛ̇ⲛⲃⲛⲁϥ · ⲭⲉⲛ̂ⲅⲉⲓⲣⲉ
ⲁⲛⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲓϣⲟⲭⲛⲉϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧ̂ⲛ ·
ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̇ⲉ̇ⲣⲟⲓ̈ⲛ̇ⲧⲁⲭⲓϣⲟⲭⲛⲉⲛⲁⲕ · ⲉ̇
ⲛⲅ̂ⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ̇ⲛ
ⲓⲉ̇ϩⲟⲩⲛⲉ̇ⲡⲉϥⲙⲁϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛⲣⲱ̂ⲙⲉ̇ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲧⲉⲉⲧ
ⲛ̄

[1] I think the letter I here represent as ⌉ is due to a smudge, as that form of ⲛ is only found, I believe, at the end of lines.

. . . . the people from the land of Egypt. And Jothor his father-in-law went to him in the wilderness. And it came to pass on the morrow Moses sat and judged the people, and the people stood before him from morning unto evening.

Said Jothor, "Lo! what is this that thou doest? Thou sittest and the people stand before thee from morning unto evening."

Then said Moses, "I sit to judge the people, and all the people come to me to seek judgment."

Said Jothor the priest, "Lo! thou dost not act rightly in this counsel. Hearken unto me and I will advise thee."

. . . . . thou rest and . . . . . to its place in (peace) . . . . . men from . . . . .

ⲁⲩⲱ̀ⲛⲓⲙ̂ⲙⲏⲧ · ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕ̄ⲣⲓⲛⲉⲛ̄ⲡ̀ⲗⲁⲟⲥ
ⲙ̀ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲓⲙ · ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲡϩⲱ̀ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲭⲟⲥⲉⲛ̀ⲥⲉ
ⲉⲛⲧⲟϥⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲕ[1] ⲛ̄ⲅⲥⲱⲧⲙ̀ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲟⲩ ·
ⲁⲛⲱⲩ̈ⲥⲛⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥ̄ⲁⲧⲉⲥⲃⲱⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥ
ϣⲟⲙⲁϥⲉⲓⲣⲉϩⲓⲛⲁⲓ̈ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲟⲉⲉⲧ
ⲧⲏϣⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲙ · ϫⲓⲛⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟ̀ⲉⲓϣⲉ̀
ⲧⲏⲙⲁⲩ ϣⲁϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲉ̀ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲛ̀ϩⲟⲟⲩ ·
ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲟⲛⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗⲁⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ
ⲱ̀ⲟⲩⲧⲏⲙⲟϥⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̄ⲛ̀ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ
ⲡⲉⲭⲉⲛⲉϥϩⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲛⲁϥⲭⲉⲓⲥϩⲛ̀ⲏⲧⲉ
ⲟⲩⲛ̀ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ ⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲕ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉ
ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲛⲉⲕϩⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲭⲱⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲁⲭⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕ
ⲙ̀ⲧⲟⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗⲉ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲉ · ⲛ̀ⲅⲕⲱⲧⲉⲛ̀ⲥⲁ
ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲡⲉⲉϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛⲛ̄ⲯⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓϩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲕⲓⲟⲁⲣⲁ · ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧ̀ϥⲉⲓ
ⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥⲛ̂ⲣⲣⲟⲛ̀ⲥ
ⲡⲉⲛⲛ̄ⲁⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ
ⲛⲉϥⲯⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓϩⲛ̄
ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲁ
/\

[1] *The letters here are uncertain.*

. . . . and for every ten: and they judge the people at all times, and bring every bad judgment of importance before thee, and thou listen to them.

Moses hearkened to the voice of his father-in-law and did so: and so it was instituted everywhere from that time unto this very day.

Then again Saul, when the evil spirit from the Lord troubled him. His servants said unto him, "Behold, an evil spirit from the Lord troubleth thee. Now, therefore, let thy servants speak a word to thee as follows. Do thou turn unto a man who is a cunning player on the harp. Let us bring him to . . . . . our lord the king . . . . . the evil spirit . . . . . he play with . . . . . the spirit."

Three parchment fragments from *MS. Coptic*, *g.* 3, containing Psalm xxxi, 6–7, 10–13, 14–17, and 19–23 (*cf.* Budge, p. 32; Lagarde, p. 117). The text hardly differs from that of the British Museum MS.

ⲙ̅ⲅ̅

ⲁⲕⲙⲉⲥⲧⲉⲛⲉⲧϩⲁⲣⲉϩⲉⲛⲛⲉⲧ[1] ϣⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲭⲓⲛⲭⲏ ·
ⲁⲛⲑⲕⲗⲉⲁⲓ̂ⲕⲁϩⲧⲏⲓ̈ⲉⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ·
ϯⲛⲁⲧⲉⲗⲏⲗⲧⲁⲉⲩⲫⲣⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲭⲓ
ⲭⲉⲛ̇ⲧⲟⲕⲁⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ̅ⲧ̅ⲉⲭ̅
ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲕⲧⲟⲩⲭⲉⲧⲁ ·
ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ

ⲕⲁ *
ⲉϩⲛϩⲛϩⲉⲛⲁϣⲁϩⲟⲛ
ⲩ̅ⲛ̅ ⲓ̅ⲧ̅ϩⲛⲕⲉ
ⲛⲁⲕⲉⲉⲥ
ⲣⲁⲛⲁⲭⲁⲭⲉ

ⲛⲁⲧⲉ .
ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲓ̈
ⲁⲙ̅ⲙ̅ⲟⲓ̈
ⲧⲏ̅ⲑⲉⲛ̇

ⲩⲟⲩ

ⲟⲓ̈

* Note.—This column, and the one also marked * on the next page, so printed to save space, are continuations of the columns printed on the left, not distinct columns.

[1] (ⲉⲙⲡⲉⲧ, Budge.)

VERSO.

ⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟⲥⲭ̇ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲕⲡⲉⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ·
ⲣⲉⲛⲁⲕⲁⲛⲣⲟⲥϩⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓⲭ ·
ⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟⲓ̈ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲓⲭⲛ̇ⲛⲁⲭⲁⲭⲉⲙ̄ⲡ ⲧ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ ·
ⲟⲟⲉⲃⲟⲗⲉⲭⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕϩⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗ ·
ⲕ.
· ⲛⲁⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ·
ⲁⲓ̈ⲱϣⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ·

ⲓ] *
ϩⲛⲧⲕ
ⲁⲕⲧⲟϣⲥⲛ̇ⲛⲉ · ⲉⲁⲓ
ⲧⲟⲉⲃⲟⲗⲛ ·
ⲕⲛⲁϩⲟⲡⲟⲩϩ
ϣⲧⲟⲣⲧ
ⲕⲛⲁⲣϩ̄ⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ
ⲱϩⲛ
ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥⲓⲛ
ⲛ ⲭ
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
ⲭⲉⲛⲉ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲧ

ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲓ
ⲭ
ⲁⲩⲱ.

Another parchment fragment from the same box, containing Psalm cvi, 5–10, 15–20 (*cf.* Budge, 114).

ⲟⲥ
ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲟⲛⲛ
ⲉⲙ̄ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟ
ⲉⲓⲗⲛⲭⲓⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ
ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲙ
ϩⲛⲕⲛⲛⲉ
ⲛ ⲁϣ
ⲛⲩⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ϩ
ⲧ ⲱ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲉϥ
ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲩⲟⲣⲁⲟⲁⲗⲁ

ϩⲛⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ
ⲓⲟ
ⲧⲛⲟⲥⲧⲉ

VERSO.

ⲉⲙⲡ
ⲙ̇ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩⲛϩⲛ
ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲟⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲙⲛ̄
ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲙ̇ⲙⲱⲩ̈
ⲙⲃⲟⲗⲛⲛⲛⲁ
ⲁⲃⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ
ⲁϩⲟⲩⲱ
ⲁϥϩⲱⲃⲥ̄ⲛⲧ
ⲁⲩⲕⲱϩⲧ
ⲁⲩϣⲁϩⲣⲉⲟ
ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ̄
ⲁⲩϣⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲙ
ⲁⲩⲣ̇
ⲍ

These few were the only Old Testament fragments which I succeeded in finding. Several others, however, which either contained quotations from or references to Old Testament passages, or which appeared to come from the Old Testament, are reserved, with the more numerous New Testament fragments, for another article.

THE YEAR NAMES OF SAMSU-ILUNA.

By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns.

Recently permission was granted me to look through a small private collection of contracts and letters of the reign of Samsu-iluna, and I take the opportunity to put on record some new dates or variants of old ones. The excellent edition of the list of year names given by Mr. L. W. King, in his *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, should be compared with Dr. Lindl's article in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. IV, pp. 338-402.

It is not quite clear in every case to which year a date is to be referred. The list here given is subject to all reservations. The notation is practically the same as that in the editions named above.

1. MU GU-ZA BARA-GE MU-UN-NA-DIM-MA. Probably year 5.
2. MU AB-KI LUGAL GUB. Probably year 7, *see* Lindl.
3. MU BAD DINGIR DA-DI-A UD-KIP- . . . . Probably year 16.
4. MU GU-ZA BARA (RA) GU-LA. Probably year 21.
5. MU IGI-Ê-NIR-KI-DUR-MAḪ DINGIR ZA-MA(L)-MA(L) DINGIR NINNI BI-DA-GE. Another example puts Ê before IGI. Another puts MEŠ after MAḪ and omits all after ZA-MA(L)-MA(L). Probably year 22.
6. MU BAD KIŠ-KI TIK ID UD-KIP-NUN-NA MU-UN-RU-A. Another example gives MU BAD-KIŠ-KI MU-UN-RÚ-A. Two others have only MU BAD KIŠ-KI. Probably year 24.

7. MU ID-RA (?)-AḪ (?) DINGIR EN-LIL-LÀ MU-NA-AN-SUM-BA-NE. Probably year 28.

8. MU ALAM GIŠ-KU SIG-GI. The date on B² 2175A is probably to be read MU ALAM GIŠ-KU SIG-GI KI (?) SAGIL-LÀ MU-UN-NA-A. Probably year 38, *see* Lindl.

These readings occur, some of them, several times. The whole number of occurrences is 28. They serve in some cases to fill out the abbreviated forms hitherto known, and should help to fix others.

UPON A SET OF SEVEN UNGUENT OR PERFUME VASES.

By F. G. Hilton Price, *Dir. S.A.*

These vases, which are in my collection, are furnished with lids which have flattened circular knob handles, finished off with a ribbon ornament of violet colour, giving them the appearance of being tied on to the top. These lids are mortised to make them fit closely in the vases, with the object of preserving the scent they contained.

Upon the front of each vase is a name in hieroglyphics, presumably referring to the contents, incised in the vase and filled in with a violet colour glaze.

The following are the names kindly transliterated by Dr. Wallis Budge:—

1. *Sa-ast*

2. *Ast*

3. *Neb-mu*

4. *Neb-ḥeḥ*

5. *Ti* (?)

6. *Theḥen-en-ḥeḥ*

7. *Shems*

ONE OF A SET OF SEVEN OINTMENT JARS.

Belonging to F. G. Hilton Price, *Dir.S.A.*

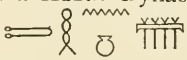
These vases, said to have been found at Memphis, are two inches in height, and are of a greenish blue glazed faïence of good quality; they possibly belong to the XXVIth Dynasty. With exception of the vase here figured for illustration (No. 6 of the set), they are all quite perfect. Dr. Wallis Budge writes me that he thinks these vases of unguents or essences were probably a selection of several which could be offered to some deity, or were placed in the tomb of an individual. In the pyramid times Teta and other kings had large numbers of such offered in their tombs, but the pots had no covers. Independently of my enquiries, Mr. W. L. Nash, *F.S.A.*, consulted Mr. Herbert Thompson, who gave him some valuable information, some of which I am making use of in these notes, which has been kindly handed over to me by Mr. Nash.

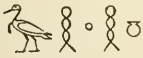
With regard to these inscriptions, Mr. Herbert Thompson says:

No. 1 reads "Amulet of Isis," and is the name of a plant.

No. 7, a plant-name, is generally, but perhaps incorrectly, identified with , "ear of corn."

Nos. 1 and 7 are found together in Boulaq Papyrus, No. 7, Mariette, I, pl. 38 (3, 5), as constituents of an embalming oil. It seems probable, therefore, that the names on the jars are the names of plants, or other substances, from which the essences contained in the jars have been made. Egyptian plants often bore names derived from popular mythology: *e.g.*, "Hair of Isis," "Amulet of Isis" (as No. 1); No. 2 may mean "Isis plant"; No. 3, "Lord of Water plant"; No. 4, "Lord of Eternity plant"; No. 5, "Hand plant (?)." A plant-name is found written in demotic (transcribed into Coptic characters), ⲥⲓⲙⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲁ, *i.e.*, "plant of the hand," with a gloss enabling us to identify it with great probability as Potentilla. No. 6, the one illustrated, reads "Bronze (?) of Eternity plant (?)."

At first sight this name suggests the familiar *tḥeḥennu*, "Libyan oil," as it is once written on a XIIth Dynasty coffin (Steindorff, *Sarg. des Sebk-o*, p. 16, l. 5).  , but this form is merely a scribe's error.

No. 7, as said above, has been identified as "Ear of Corn." Mr. Thompson adds that were it not that Nos. 1 and 7 are known as plant names, it might be suggested that in Nos. 4 and 6 stood for  *neḥeḥ*, "oil," and in No. 3, stood for "extract or essence."

Seven small alabaster vases, with the names of the unguents they contained written upon the lids in hieratic, enclosed within a case which bore the seal of Tesh-senbet-f, an officer of high rank in the palace, were found by M. de Morgan in 1894 in the tomb of the Princess Nub-hetep of the XIIth Dynasty (see fig. and account in *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 1895, pp. 109–110). Being unacquainted with hieratic, I wrote to Dr. Budge to kindly give me a transcription of them, and in his absence Mr. H. R. Hall, of his Department, was good enough to write me the following particulars :—

1. *ḥekennuti*, "oil."
2. *ḥātet-nt-Tḥeḥennu*, "Libyan oil."
3. *ḥatet-nt-āš*, "oil of cedar."
4. *ḥātet-nt-* . . . . . , illegible.
5. *sfet*, "clarified oil."
6. *n-neteret*, "holy oil."
7. *setet-ḥeb*, "fragrant festival oil."

THE TRANSLITERATION OF EGYPTIAN.

Letter of Professor Dr. Eugene Revillout.

(*Continued from page* 293.)

J'ai cité, dans mes cours, bien des exemples analogues, sur lesquels je ne m'étendrai pas aujourd'hui. Si j'ai dit ces quelques mots, c'est pour prouver que fausse est la méthode qui, à toutes les époques, veut lire de la même manière et en Copte des mots et des syllabiques dont la valeur phonétique a changé selon les temps, les lieux et les cas; comme fausse aussi est la méthode qui, d'après certaines vocalisations d'anciennes voyelles devenues tantôt muettes tantôt semi-voyelles, voudrait prétendre que ces voyelles n'ont jamais existé.

Ce n'est pas, d'ailleurs, dans les seuls papyrus démotiques à transcriptions grecques de l'époque romaine que nous constatons ces changements dans la prononciation des signes et des mots. C'est aussi dans les contrats Ptolémaiques démotico-grecs contenant des noms propres (*Patisebak*), est ainsi transcrit πετεσουχις, , πινπωορ (*peinpuhr*), , πετεαρπρης. Le mot *mer* ou ou *met*, "mort," se lira, comme en Copte, μου (σιεφμους, etc.). Le signe se lira θω ou το, comme en Copte, même quand il est employé pour ; = φθωμωνθης ; (pour), φρισομτους, etc. Le mot *sesennu* = 8, est devenu χομνευς à cause de la valeur Copte ϣⲛⲟⲩⲛ, emprunté au sémitique[1] pour ce chiffre 8, comme lune ( ), est

[1] Beaucoup de mots ont été changés à la basse époque pour se rapprocher du sémitique. Je citerai seulement qui à cause du שמש est devenu ϣⲏϣⲉ en Copte. La lecture *šems* est une simple supposition gratuite.

transcrit ιω ou ιο avec un emprunté au démotique dans les autres bilingues.

À la dernière époque, la vocalisation copte prévaut généralement dans le corps des mots. On a, du reste, l'échelle complète des voyelles :

1°. = = α ; = = α ; = = α,

2°. = = ε ; 3°. = = = ι, ει ; = = υ, ου ; = = υ, ου ; 4°. = = ο.

Quant aux consonnes, je n'en donnerai pas ici l'énumeration. Qu'il me suffice de dire que ce sont les correspondantes de celles qui figurent dans l'alphabet de de Rougé, et qu'elles sont toutes très exactement transcrites en caractères grecs, avec la valeur qu'il leur a attribuée.

Notons seulement que, pour les sons n'existant pas en grec, les bilingues ptolémaïques procèdent d'une toute autre manière que les papyrus démotiques à transcriptions. Dans les premiers, le est transcrit φ = οννοφρις et = εφωνυχος ; *nextf-eroou* (sa force est sur eux) = νεχθφερους. Le *š* ou est transcrit Σ, et le = (⊥) = *t'* également. Ex.: = πασημις, = νυσις, = καλουσης, [1] = σαχπηρις ; = = σισοις, = ψαποαρης. Les lettres ,[2] [3] et *šu*, sont transcrites χ. Ex.: = χιμναραυς,

[1] On a cependant aussi pour le les transcriptions γ et θ. Ex.: = φωκαγης : = κολλουθης. Cette transcription en τ n'est pas rare et s'explique par les parentés hiéroglyphiques du *t'* et du *t*.

[2] On a cependant la transcription = Τοργους.

[3] Une fois le a été muet comme une simple aspirée, remplacée par l'esprit comme le *hori*.

= σαχπηρις, = χονοπρης; = χαποχρατης, = πχορχωνσις, = πετεχωνσις, = πετεαρ-ποχρατης, = φρεψενχωνσις; = φριπαχεους, = εφωνυχος, = χαποχωνσις, = ψενχωνσις.

Quant aux aspirées douces ⲭ et ϥ, si elles commencent un mot, elles sont remplacées par l'esprit (les exemples en seraient innombrables). Dans d'autres cas, les lettres dites propres à l'Egyptien se combinent avec les consonnes grecques. Ex.: = φριπατης, et de même tous les autres commencement par *phir* ou *phri*, "le seigneur": = φεβανκου, = φιβις, = φατρης, = σενοσορφιβις; = φωκαγης, = τεεφιβις.

La règle, en effet, même en Copte thébain, nous le verrons plus loin, est de considérer le *φ*, le *θ* comme des lettres doubles valant ⲡϩ, ⲧϩ.

Dans les papyrus à transcriptions grecques d'époque romaine on a trouvé plus simple de réproduire au milieu de ces transcriptions grecques, la lettre démotique que ne possédait pas le grec. Pour le *hori*[1] cette lettre était ⲥ = ϥ; le nom d'Abraham sera écrit et transcrit αβρασαμε; *touhor* sera transcrit τουσορ, sera transcrit σισισουτ, et sera transcrit σσευ en donnant à la valeur *υ*. Parfois cependant le *hori* sera rendu par l'*υ* grec parceque cette lettre prend toujours l'esprit rude au commencement des mots = ⲥ sera ainsi transcrit *υου* à plusieurs reprises et transcrit *ιαυου*, servira à rendre le nom sacré hébreu

[1] On trouve aussi ϩ = ⲭ dans = νϩετ.

יהוה.[1] Le *š* démotique le plus habituellement employé est ⲍ = [illegible]. Le mot démotique [illegible] sera transcrit ⲍⲁⲧⲉⲛⲥⲣⲟ. Le mot [illegible] sera transcrit ⲣⲁⲙⲍⲁⲟⲩ. Le mot [illegible] sera transcrit ⲍ[illegible]ⲡ (avec [illegible], l'épine dorsale, employée comme doublon de [illegible] = [illegible] pour traduire *ο* et *ω*, ce qui est fréquent).

Le [illegible] ayant pour équivalent ⲟ sera parfois conservé, comme dans les premiers essais de transcription de l'Égyptien en lettres grecques contenus dans les papyrus de Londres et de Paris, depuis longtemps publiés par moi dans les "Mélanges" (papyrus où l'on a également employé les lettres démotiques ⲗ, [illegible], ⲍ, etc.).

Cela tient à ce que le [illegible] = ⲟ est devenu aussi souvent en Copte le ⲟ. Ex.: [illegible] = ⲟⲁⲧⲉ.

Le [illegible], rendu en démotique par [illegible], sera aussi conservé en grec [illegible] = ⲛⲧⲁⲩ; [illegible] = ⲉⲗⲓⲩ. Le [illegible] du régime remplace ici fautivement le [illegible]. Quant au ⲗ = [illegible], il transcrit le [illegible] = ⲛⲟ, "dire," sans, aucun ⲧ comme en Copte.

Dans les planchettes bilingues servant d'étiquettes de momies et qui sont d'époque romaine, nous trouvons d'autres transcriptions analogues, contenant des lettres démotiques au milieu de lettres grecques. Le *hori*, [illegible] = [illegible] sert à rendre [illegible] (= [illegible] ou [illegible]) dans [illegible] = τρομπαϩβειτις. Dans d'autres cas c'est le ⲗ = [illegible] ou le [illegible] = [illegible] ou le ⲍ = [illegible]. Mais souvent aussi on se sert du mode de transcriptions en lettres grecques usité dans les contrats ptolémaiques bilingues.

Nous citerons le [illegible] = φ, ce que nous avons déjà vu dans les dits contrats et ce qui éloigne de l'idée d'y voir un *ου*. Ex.: [illegible] = (*hor mehf*) Αρεμφις, [illegible] = ορσενουφις. Nous citerons encore le [illegible] = ⲗ = ⲥ. Ex.: [illegible] = [illegible] = σισοις. Nous citerons aussi ⲗ = [illegible] = τσ et

[1] Nous avons vu plus haut que [illegible] est rendu *ιω*, parce que l'ane se dit *ιω* en Copte. On sait que *ιω* est une des transcriptions habituelles des יהוה dans les documents gnostiques, etc., des premiers siècles de notre ère.

semblant indiquer une parenté entre ce *t'* et le *tsade*[1] hébreu, ainsi qu'on l'avait supposé déjà d'après les noms bilingues égypto-sémitiques de l'époque hiéroglyphique. Ex. : = πτσαρκες. Dans d'autres cas, ce que nous avions noté déjà à propos des contrats bilingues, le est transcrit τ. Ex. : = πταυτος (=).

Le est transcrit aussi χ. Ex. : = ψενσενμενχης. Il y en est de même de . Ex. : = χανοσεως (au génitif). Le est assimilé à un *s*. Ex. : = σερεψαις (= σε = σερε = ϣⲉⲣⲉ).

Je n'en aurais jamais fini, si je voulais citer tous les exemples analogues ; car les planchettes bilingues démotico-grecques, on pour mieux dire les bilingues démotico-grecs et démotico-hiéroglyphiques, ou hiératiques sont maintenant innombrables. Nous ne sommes donc pas réduits à des suppositions pour le phonétisme de l'Égyptien de cette période.

Rien n'est mieux connu, rien n'est plus net, tant pour les consonnes que pour les voyelles écrites, qui ne peuvent passer alors pour des semi-voyelles muettes.

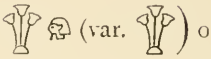
La doctrine de l'École actuelle de Berlin est absolument anéantie, je le répète, pour cette période ; et si quelques anciennes voyelles écrites, devenues muettes, n'ont plus representé les voyelles parlées, c'est que la prononciation des mots a historiquement changé sans qu'on voulut changer l'ortographe, absolument comme cela s'est passé pour la prononciation de l'Anglais actuel. Personne cependant ne verra des consonnes dans les voyelles de l'Anglais écrit. On me permettra de ne pas citer d'exemples ; car il me faudrait remplir des volumes in folios si je voulais recueillir et commenter toutes les transcriptions qui prouvent ce fait d'une façon indubitable.

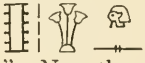
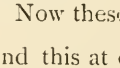
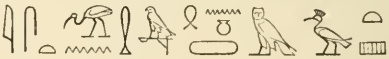
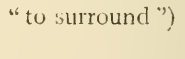
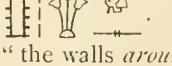
[1] Le *tsade* est devenu *sad* en Arabe. Aussi le σ est-il la transcription la plus fréquente du ⲥ.

(*To be continued.*)

ON THE MEANING OF THE PREPOSITION .

By Alan H. Gardiner.

The preposition  (var.) owes its origin to a substantive , "occiput," "the back of the head," whence it derives its primitive significance "behind." While this significance is established beyond all doubt, it may yet be questioned whether the rendering "behind" conveys the entire, or the only, meaning of the preposition. Several common phrases where occurs will here be studied, in which it appears imperative to translate the word by the English "around."

1. Where the building of a temple is recorded, reference is frequently made to  , according to the old translation, "the walls behind it." Now these walls are commonly said to be of *brick*,[1] (), and this at once suggests that the temenos, or enclosure, walls are thereby indicated. For instance, the temenos walls at Koptos were built of brick, and so too with the Sethos I and Osiris temples at Abydos. Similarly on a stele of Thutmosis III at Karnak[2] it is said:—  , "My Majesty found the surrounding wall of brick": here , whose meaning (derived from  , "to surround") is clear, takes the place of  . This latter phrase should accordingly be rendered "the walls *around* it."

[1] *Amada Stele*, l. 12 = Reinisch, *Chrestomathie*, Tafel 7; stele from the temple of Ptah in Karnak, l. 4 = *Annales du Service*, III, p. 109; Mar., *Karnak*, pl. 40.

[2] Mar., *Karnak*, pl. 12.

2. A still more obvious case is that of the ceremony . The custom thus described is well explained by M. MORET[3] (he translates "faire le tour *derrière* le mur"): "le but de ce rite était de faire la ronde autour et d'assurer la possession des naos d'Horus et de Sit, c'est-à-dire autour du temple symbolisant le monde." The point is, therefore, that a circuit is made *around* the temple, not merely *behind* it. is accordingly to be translated "to go *around about* the wall."

3. In many texts it is told of the gods, that , "they place (spread, cast, or the like) their protection *behind*" the king: thus the ordinary translation. But *pro*tection, as the very word proclaims, is in its proper place not *behind* a man, but either *in front of*, or *around*, him. Similarly the building , doubtless "that which places protection," is not a chamber at the back of the palace, but the palace itself, the building which *surrounds* the king, and so shields him from unfriendly powers. Again, the formula , "the protection of life, stability, and wealth, behind him!" as it is usually, but somewhat unreasonably, translated, occurs in countless instances beside[4] the king's figure. In both these cases should be rendered by "*around*."

4. In the enumeration of a man's virtues, such phrases as the following occasionally occur:[5] . This is surely not to be translated "I did not allow evils to come *behind* me," but rather "*around* me." The former translation would rather imply that the speaker had failed to surmount evils.

[3] *Cf.* MORET, *Du caractère réligieux de la royauté pharaonïque*, p. 96, footnote.

[4] It might be urged that this formula is usually, if not always, written *behind* the king: against this may be set the numerous pictures where a god presents ☥, etc., to the face of the king. Moreover, "around" does not exclude "behind."

[5] NEWBERRY, *Rekhmara*, Pl. VII, l. 18.

The transition from the meaning "behind" to the meaning "around" is an easy one. It is hard to think the notion "around" except as a passage from front to back, the movement being continued on to the original starting-point in front. In the Swedish preposition *bakom*,[6] "behind," a confusion of the two notions occurs: and so it is when we say, colloquially, that someone has gone "round behind" the house. We can therefore hardly be astonished that , originally "behind," has developed the secondary meaning "around."

[6] The element *bak-* is our English *back*: *-om* is the German preposition *um*.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C., on Wednesday, December 9th, 1903, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Rev. Dr. Löwy: "Notes on Lilith."

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1903.

Seventh Meeting, 9th December, 1903.

DR. GASTER

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Council of the Egypt Exploration Fund.—"An Atlas of Ancient Egypt."

From F. Legge.—"The Gods of the Egyptians;" by E. A. Wallis Budge, *Litt.D.*

From the Author, S. A. Cook, *M.A.*—"The Laws of Moses and the Code of Ḥammurabi."

The following Candidates for Membership were elected :—

Leonard W. King, *M.A.*, British Museum.
H. R. Hall, *M.A.*, British Museum.
R. Campbell Thompson, *B.A.*, British Museum.

The following Paper was read :—

By Rev. Dr. Löwy: "Notes on Lilith."

The subject was discussed by Dr. Pinches, Dr. Hirschfeld, Dr. Friedlander, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned to Dr. Löwy for his communication.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By Prof. Edouard Naville, *D.C.L., &c.*

(*Continued from page* 304.)

CHAPTER CLXII.

Chapter of causing a flame (1) *to arise under the head of the deceased.*

Hail to thee, thou lion, (2) thou mighty one, with high plumes, the lord of the double crown, who wavest the flail, thou art the lord of the phallus, (3) thou art vigorous when ariseth the morning light, to the rays of which there is no limit.

Thou art the lord of forms, with numerous colours, who conceals himself within his eye to his children.

Thou art the mighty enchanter among the cycle of the gods, thou swift runner, with quick strides. Thou art the mighty god who cometh to him who calleth for him, who delivereth the oppressed from his tortures. Come to my voice. I am the cow. Thy name is in my mouth. I am going to utter it. Hakahaka (4) is thy name. Furaa is thy name. Aakarsa is thy name. Ankrobata is thy name. Khermauserau is thy name. Kharosata is thy name.

I adore thy name. I am the cow. Listen to my voice, on the day when thou puttest a flame under the head of Rā. Behold he is in the Tuat, and he is mighty in Heliopolis. (5) Grant that he may be like one who is on earth. He is thy son, who loves thee. Do not ignore his name. Come to Osiris *N.* Grant that a flame may arise under his head, for he is the soul of the great body which rests in Heliopolis; the shining one, the form of the firstborn is his name. Barokatat'aua is his name.

Come, grant him to be like one of thy followers, for he is even as thou art.

Said on the image of a cow, made of pure gold, to be put on the neck of the deceased. Also if it is painted on new papyrus, and put under his head, there will be a quantity of flames all around him like those that are on earth. This is a very great protection, which the cow granted to her son Rā, after he had gone to rest. His abode is surrounded by warriors of blazing fire. (6)

If thou puttest this goddess on the neck of the King who is on earth, he is like fire in pursuing his enemies, his horses cannot stop.

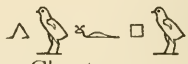
If thou puttest it on the neck of a man after his death, he is mighty in the Netherworld. Nobody will drive him away from the gates of the Tuat undeviatingly.

And thou shalt say when thou puttest this goddess on the neck of the deceased: O Amon of Amons, thou who art in the sky, turn thy face towards the body of thy son, make him sound in the Netherworld.

This book is most secret. Do not let it be seen by any man, for it is forbidden to know it. Let it be hidden. It is called the book of the mistress of the hidden abode. This is the end.

Notes.

Chapters 162–165 are of a very late date. They are of a different character from the other chapters of the Book of the Dead. They belong rather to the magic books of the old Egyptians. When they were written there was a decay in the religion, which drifted more and more into magic, for which the Egyptians were famous under the Roman Empire. We find there a great number of barbarous words unintelligible to us, and probably also to the old scribes, since they differ widely according to the papyri. They remind us of those which are found in the magical texts (Chabas, *Pap. Magique Harris*, p. 151).

It is probable that Chapter 162 is older than the following; several papyri end with it, and it has the rubric  *this is the end*, which is found in the older texts after Chapter 149.

The late Dr. Pleyte, of Leyden, made a special study of these chapters, and of several others of late date (*Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts, Texte, Traduction et Commentaire*, Leide). The collation which he published of various documents is the text on which this translation has been made.

The vignette generally consists of a cow, having between her horns a solar disk, with two plumes. Occasionally behind her there is a goddess with a cow's head having the same attribute. This cow I consider to be the goddess Nut, the mother of Rā. An image of the cow, made of pure gold, is to be put on the neck of the deceased; or, what would be much easier and cheaper, it is to be painted on a hypocephalus of new papyrus, and put under the deceased's head. Part of this chapter is the usual text found on the hypocephali.

The result of the gift of one of these amulets will be that in the Netherworld the deceased will be surrounded by flames. This is the effect of the presence of the amulets here described. It does not take place in this world, but in the other, where Rā himself enjoys a similar protection, being surrounded by "warriors of blazing fire." This image seems to point to the magnificent sunsets often seen in Egypt.

1. All the translators have interpreted by "heat," the vital heat of the body. But this is not the true sense of the word, which means "flame," "flame of fire." The root implies the idea of darting, springing forth like a flame or a spark, and not of latent heat. cannot mean anything except a great quantity of flames. These flames will be the protection of the deceased.

2. The lion addressed by the cow, a god of light and fire, is probably Rā himself.

3. For the connection between generation and light, see Kuhn, "Herabkunft des Feuers," p. 70 and ff.

4. These barbarous names, as well as those of the following chapters, have not yet been explained. Their interpretation is to be looked for in the African languages, for Chapter 164 connects them with the speech of the negroes, and the Anti of Nubia.

5. I have kept for Renouf's translation: Heliopolis. But it must not be understood as referring to the well-known city at the head of the Delta. is here a city in the other world. It is a name belonging to the mythological and not to the terrestrial geography.

6. I consider the word of the Turin text, or according to other papyri, as connected with *fire, burning.*

CHAPTER CLXIII.

Chapters brought from another book, in addition to the "coming forth by day." Chapter of not letting the body of a man decay in the Netherworld, of rescuing him from the devourers of souls who imprison men in the Tuat, and of not raising his sins on earth against him, but of saving his flesh and his bones from the worms and from every evil-doing god in the Netherworld, so that he may go in and out as he likes, and do everything he desires without restraint.

— I am the soul of the great body which rests in Arohabu. I am protecting the body of Hanirta, the lord of motion, who rests in the marshes of Senhakarokana.

— O thou soul of souls, who art not unwilling to rise when thou restest in thy body which dwelleth in Senhakarokana! Come to Osiris *N.*, deliver him from the Powers of the god whose face is terrible, who takes possession of the heart, and takes hold of the limbs; a flame rushes out of their mouths, so that they consume the souls.

— O he who goes to rest in his body, and then rises a burning heat, blazing even within the sea, and the sea goes up because of this burning vapour, at the time of the morning; come, bring thy fire; pour thy burning vapour on him who will raise his hand against Osiris *N.* for ever and ever.

— Hail, Osiris *N.*, thy duration is that of the sky; thy duration is the duration of the ultimate circles. (1) The sky holds thy soul; this earth holds thy figure.

— Deliver Osiris *N.* Do not let him be carried away by his enemies, to him who devours the soul, who raises evil accusations. Restore his soul to his body and his body to his soul.

— It is he who is hidden in the pupil, in the Eye of Sharosharo. Shapuarika is his name. He resides on the north-west front of Apt,

in the land of Nubia, and he will never navigate towards the East.

— O Amon the bull, the scarab, the lord of the two eyes whose name is : he with the terrible pupil. Osiris *N.* is the image of thy two eyes, Sharosharo is the name of one, Shapuarika is the name of the other one. He is Shaka Amon, Shaka Nasarohaut ; Tmu who illuminates the two earths is his true name. Come to Osiris *N.*, he belongs to the land of Truth, do not leave him alone. He is of the land which is not seen again.

— Thy name is with the mighty Glorified. (2) He is the soul of the great body which is in Sais of Neith.

Said on a serpent having two legs, and bearing a two-horned disk. Two eyes are before him, having two legs and two wings.

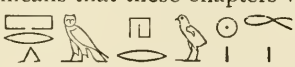
In the pupil of one is the image of one raising his arm, with the face of Bes, wearing his plumes, and having the back of a hawk.

It is painted with anti and shethu, mixed with green colour of the South, and with water from the Western Lake of Egypt; on a bandage of new linen, in which all the limbs of a man will be wrapped.

Thus he will not be driven away from all the gates of the Tuat; he will eat, drink, ease his body as if he were on earth ; no outcry will be raised against him ; his enemies will be powerless (?) against him.

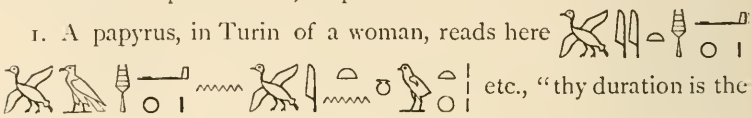
If this book is read on earth, (3) *he is not carried away by the messengers, the wicked ones who do evil on all the earth ; and he will not be wounded, he will not die from the blow of the king. He will not be taken to prison ; for he will go in to his attendants and go out victorious, he will be free from the fear of evil doers who are on the whole earth.*

Notes.

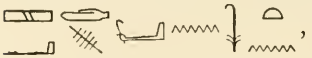
This Chapter begins with a general title applying to 163–5, and probably to other ones not included in the papyrus of Turin : "Chapters brought from another book, an addition to the coming forth by day." This means that these chapters were not considered as belonging to the  "the coming forth by day," the original Book of the Dead, which in old times ended with Chapter 149, and later on with Chapter 162.

The vignettes represent the figures described in the rubric for which the chapter was written.

Dr. Pleyte first discovered that this Chapter is a kind of dialogue, consisting of words spoken by the god, and a prayer addressed to him in favour of the deceased. The strange names which occur in the text lead us here also to Africa, since it is said of the deceased that he resides in Apt of Nubia, Napata.

1. A papyrus, in Turin of a woman, reads here  etc., "thy duration is the duration of the ultimate circles."

2. *Chuu.* Renouf either keeps the Egyptian word, or translates: "the Glorious ones, the Glorified." See note 1, ch. 1, ch. 15, etc.

3. The amulet has also an influence on earth, it protects a man against hidden dangers, which arise not from men but from some invisible causes, and agents like those evil messengers, probably spirits, who might be called "angels." I believe that  , "the blow of the king," must mean some sudden illness like . Dr. Pleyte also considers this part of the rubric as applying to a man's life on earth; there is only this expression which does not agree with this explanation, and would rather lead us to think that what is described in this part of the rubric takes place in the other world.

CHAPTER CLXIV.

Another Chapter.

Hail, Sekhet, Bast, daughter of Rā, lady of the gods, who holdeth her fan of plumes, the lady of the scarlet garment, the mistress of the white and red crown, the only one who stands above her father, when there are no gods to stand above her; the great magician in the boat of millions of years, lofty when she rises in the abode of silence, the mother of the Shakas, the royal wife of the lion Haka.

These are the forms of the princess, the mistress of the funereal

chamber, the mother on the horizon of the sky, the joyful, the beloved, who destroyeth the rebels collected in her fist.

She stands at the prow of the boat of her father, in order to strike down the evildoer, in order to place Maat at the prow of the boat of Rā.

Neith, the burning one, after whom nothing remains; she who follows Kaharo, who follows Saromkaharomat is thy name, thou art the mighty burning wind behind Kanas, (1) at the prow of the boat of her father Haropukaka Scharoshaba, in the language of the negroes and of the Anti of the land of Nubia (2).

Acclamations to thee, mightier than the gods; thou art praised by the gods of Hermopolis, the living spirits who are in their tabernacles. They give praise to the valour of Mut (?), (3) and they begin to bring offerings to the mysterious gates. Their bones are sound, they are delivered from dangers; they become powerful in the eternal abode; they are delivered from the society of the wicked one, the spirit with a terrible face, which is among the assembly of the gods.

The child (4) who is born of him with the terrible face, will hide his body to the cursed serpent whose breath is burning; because he has found the names; the mysterious lion is one, the soul of the dwarf (is the other). As for the eye of the great one, the princess of the gods, her name is she who partakes of the name of Mut.

His soul is powerful, his body is sound; they are safe from the abode of the enemies who are in the society of the wicked one. They will not be imprisoned.

These words which were spoken by the mouth of the goddess herself have become the words of the goddesses, and the male gods, and of every soul to whom a burial is given.

Said on a Mut having three faces: one is the face of the Pekha-vulture having two plumes; the other is the face of a man, wearing the red and the white crown. The other is a face of a Ner-vulture, having two plumes, with a phallus and wings and the claws of a lion.

It is painted with anti with resin (?) mixed with green colour, on a scarlet bandage. There is a dwarf in front and behind her; he looks at her and wears two plumes. He has one arm raised, and he has two faces, one of a hawk and the other of a man.

He whose body is wrapped up in these bandages, he is mighty among the gods in the Netherworld. He is never repulsed; his flesh and his bones are like one who never died; he drinks at the source of the river,

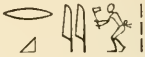
he receives fields in the garden of Aarru; a star in the sky is given to him.

He is delivered from the fiend-serpent with a burning mouth. His soul will not be imprisoned like a bird; he will be lord of those around him, and he will not be eaten by worms.

Notes.

The translation of these magical Chapters is still more uncertain than that of the rest of the book, and the text is often very corrupt.

The vignette consists of the three figures described in the rubric. That which is given here is taken from the Turin papyrus. It differs slightly from the description and from the vignettes of the other texts. The middle figure should have a man's body with a lion's claws.

(1) A papyrus at Leyden reads here  the enemies.

(2) There it is said distinctly that these barbarous words belong to African languages. They are probably not all proper names; some of them seem to have a sense which we have not yet discovered, for instance, the word *Shakas* in this expression: the mother of the Shakas.

(3) Very uncertain text.

(4) These words seem to apply to the deceased.

(*To be continued.*)

PLATE LVII. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER CLXII.
LEPSIUS, Todtenbuch.

CHAPTER CLXIV. LEPSIUS, Todtenbuch.

CHAPTER CLXIII. LEPSIUS, Todtenbuch.

CHAPTER CLXV. LEPSIUS, Todtenbuch.

CHAPTER CLXVI, *Aa*.

CHAPTER CLXVII, *Aa*.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

By Prof. A. H. Sayce, *D.D.*, *&c.*

(*Continued from page* 310.)

I now pass to the names of some of the Hittites mentioned by Ramses II at Abu-Simbel and the Ramesseum. The general of the Hittite cavalry was Targannas, a derivative in *-na* from Tarku, and so denoting "he who belongs to the god Tarku," *i.e.*, his son. The captain of the archers from Qibsu in Comania was Targa-tazis; another cavalry captain was Pais or Pis, with which the name of Piśiris of Carchemish may be compared. Then there is a Tidal and a Tadal, variant forms of a name which may be identified with that of Dadil of the Kaskâ, who are called Hittites by Tiglath-pileser I, though we may also read Tidar and compare the Cilician name Τεδί-αρις. With the termination of Dadil compare that of Matil king of Yakhanu in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. Matti was a king of Atuna in the neighbourhood of Sinukhta, between the Karmalas and the Tokhma Su, at the same time. Âgam was captain of the archers from Panas, Garba-tas the charioteer of the Hittite king. In Garba-tas we probably have another derivative suffix, Garba being the god Garpa.* Zawazas came from Tonis, perhaps the Tuna of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Tyana of the Greeks. Another name is . . ngam, with the same termination as Âgam; we may compare also the names of Eta-gama and of Tarkhi-gamas, a Hittite city

* One of the foreigners implicated in the conspiracy against Ramses III was Garpus. With the suffix of Garba-tas compare that of Tarkondimatos by the side of Tarkondêmos. Perhaps we have the same suffix in the name of the Malatiyeh king.

captured by the Vannic king Menuas. Finally we have Sapa-sar, the son of the Hittite king, and Sapa-zal his brother, both names containing that of the god Sapa, while the element *zal* is found in the name of the Komagenian Kata-zil as compared with Katî of the Quê and the land of Kata-onia, which may have been called after him. At Abu Simbel Champollion further copied an imperfect name Lubaur . . . This is evidently Lubarna, which thus carries the name of the later Khattinian princes back to the age of Ramses.

These excerpts from the Egyptian monuments will not be complete without the concluding words of the famous Treaty between Ramses II and his Hittite antagonists as restored by the excavations of M. Bouriant (*Recueil de Travaux*, XIII, p. 159; XIV, pp. 67–70): "That which is on the (Hittite) tablet, on the obverse represents the image of Sutekh the god of the Hittites embracing the image of the prince of the Hittites, surrounded by an inscription to this effect: 'The seal of Sutekh the lord of heaven,' and 'The seal of the writing made by Khata-sar, the great prince of the Hittites, the powerful, the son of Mur-sar, the great prince of the Hittites, the powerful.' That which is within the frame is the seal of Sutekh the lord of heaven. That which is on its side represents the image of the god of the Hittites embracing the image of the princess of the Hittites surrounded by an inscription to this effect: 'The seal of the Sun-god of the city of Arinna, the lord of the earth,' and 'The seal of Putu-khipa, the princess of the land of the Hittites, the daughter of the land of Qizawa[dana, the . . . of] Arinna, the mistress of the earth, the priestess of the goddess.' That which is within the frame is the seal of the Sun-god of Arinna, the lord of the whole earth."

As the Sun-god of Arinna was associated with Putu-khipa we may gather that the land of Qizawadana was in the neighbourhood of Comana. In this case the Mitannian god Khepa was adopted by the Hittites, or else it was originally a Hittite god adopted by the Mitannians. It will be noticed that the queen is the "priestess of the goddess," and that both Khata-sar and Putu-khipa were represented in the same position as the high-priest at Boghaz Keui, in the embrace of the god. Sutekh, "the lord of heaven," here corresponds with Tarku the husband of the Sky-goddess at Fraktin, while the Sun-god is "the lord of the earth," like Attys on the seals.

Translation of the Inscriptions.

J. II. 1. DET. - ID. Car-ga-me-is-DET. DET. - ID.
The dirk-bearer of Carchemish of the Calf land (and) of
DET. Khatta DET.-Khila - * -me
*the land of the Hittites, Khila - * -me*

2. a-na me-i(n?) ID. - u (?) . . . . .
the king am I; the powerful, the minister (?)
DET. Aram (?)-me ID. ID. tame
of the god Aramis (?), the head of the earth, supreme
IX n
over the nine; to whom

3. DET. Khila lal (?) Khatta . . ID.- i(n?)-
*the goddess Khila has given the Hittite; the princely,**
DET. . . . .
. . . .

4. . . . . ID . -u (?) me - i ga (?) - ar† ana
. . . . *the powerful (am) I; the priest (?) of the*
IX ID.
9 great gods

5. ID. IX - as ID.
who loves the 9 (gods) of the sanctuary (?)
[a-] na-[yas] . . . . DET.‡
the kingly . . . . div-

6. me-yas . . . § a-ta n-yas-u (?) ID.-u(?) ana IX ID.
ine . . . . . the 9 great gods;
khil - li - a
of the foe (?)

* Or did the name of the father of Khila- . . me come here?
† Or rather *ga-ab*, like *ga-ab-s*, in M. I, 2.
‡ Messerschmidt reads "the lordly."
§ Perhaps we have the phonetic spelling of this group of ideographs in J, I, 4, (*i*)*s-ma-si-a-ta*. Does it mean "among men"?

7. ID.-ta-a-li-s (?) ID.-u (?)-i-yas a-na ID.
the slaughterer (?) *powerful;* *the king,* *the lord*

8. . . . . a-na ID. ID.-u (?) me - i
. . . . . *the great king,* *the powerful* *(am) I.*

This is the easiest of the inscriptions, as it consists merely of a string of titles like many Egyptian texts. The king bore a name parallel to Sapa-lulme or Sanda-sarmi, and signifying "beloved of the goddess Khila." I conjecture that the which is occasionally added to a vowel (or word) at the end of a sentence when it is closely connected with the succeeding one, denotes the sonant nasal. Lines 4 and 5 seem to mean: "priest of the 9 great gods, loving the 9 (gods) of the sanctuary (?)" since the ideograph "loving" has no *-me* attached to it, and the following numeral is in the accusative plural. For the translation of as "sanctuary" see above. In line 7 the ideograph of "knife" shows that the word must have something to do with "slaughtering" or "subduing," like the epithet (Bor 1 and 2). Perhaps *tâli* was the phonetic rendering of it.

This is one of the texts which seem to necessitate our making the numeral III the ideographic symbol of "Hittite" (cp. J. III, 3). Phonetically, however, it had another value, since in B.M. 4 we have *(a)s-*[illegible]*-ga-s-na-is*, and on the Bowl *i-mis-ga-*[illegible]*-s (?)-ma.* Whether this value was *asgas*, *asga*, *gas*, or *seg* must remain doubtful.

MER'ASH. 1. a-me-i Sanda-*-m-*-u(?)-i-is-s Kali-khatt-a-na-s
I (am) *Sanda-*m-*is* *son of Kali-khattis(?)*

KHILA-khila-qa-a-na-i-s-DET. sar-mi-(?)-i-s Mar-qa-si-i-s
the Cilician, *the king* *of Mer'ash,*

ID.-is ID.-i-s ID.-na-a-ya-s
the warrior, *the conqueror,* *the lordly,*

Sanda-*-m-*-u(?)-is-si-s
belonging to the city of Sanda--m-*-is*

2. ID. of city ID.-s Ma-[ar]-qa-si-s-DET. Aram-a-as-DET.-si-s
lord of the town of Mer'ash *of the Aramæans(?),*

. . . ID.-s	Ma-ar-qa-sis(?)	ga-al-s	Sanda-*-m-as(?)-u-(?)-
. . . lord	*of Mer'ash*	*the priest of (the city) of*	*Sanda-*

is-si-s	Kali-khatt-a-na-s
**-m-is,*	*the son of Kali-khattis*(?)

3. ID.-na-a-s	Aram-a-as-si-s	ID.-i-[s]
the lord	*of the Aramæans,*	*the conqueror*

ID.-n-a-n-a-s	Mar-qa-si-s-i	ID.-ID.-s-DET.
belonging to the lords	*of Mer'ash*	*of . . . .*

ID.-s	DET.-n-ui(?)	DET.-ya-mis
the lord.	*To the god*	*I myself*

The inscription thus begins in the same way as J. I, but with a longer enumeration of titles. A similar name to Kali-khatt(?)-anas occurs on three of the Schlumberger seals (2, 3, 4), Sandâi-khatt(?)-(a)nas.

1. I read *sarmis* rather than *ada-mis*, since the suffix *-mi* is rarely attached to *a-da*, while *sarmis* is vouched for by the name of the Cilician king Sanda-sarmi in the time of Assur-bani-pal. Ada-na, it will be remembered, was built on the Saros, and Hittite names like Khata-sar have long since been explained as "Khata (is) king," an explanation now confirmed by our finding that the son of the Cimmerian chieftain Tugdamme who was killed in Cilicia bore the name of Sanda-ksatra. Ksatra is the Persian *khshatra* "king," and thus the equivalent of the Assyrian *sar* and Hittite *ada*. Similarly in the Tel el-Amarna tablets we have the name of the Mitannian Dunip-ipri, "Dunip is king." The deified city of Dunip was situated in a district where Hittites and Mitannians contended for the mastery.*

In the Greek inscriptions of Cilicia also we have Rho-zarmas, Troko-zarmas, and Ia-zarmas or A-zarmas, to which Prof. Sachau would join Sadasamis for Sanda-sarmis. The name of the river Saros is of itself sufficient evidence that the Assyrian *sarru* had been borrowed by the Cilicians.

* Or is it "prince of Dunip," Khata-sar being in the same way "prince of the Hittites"? See *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 199. The fact however that the first element is sometimes the name of a deity like Sandan or Rhô, is against this explanation.

The character which follows *Sanda-*-m* in line 2 seems to me to be the ideograph of "king" . Dr. Messerschmidt, however, makes it the ass's head. There seems to be the same interchange of characters in Izgin D 1 and C 2. In any case it is the equivalent of in line 1. The same character is found in Izgin D 1 after *Khatt-a* and before NA-*na*, and must not be confounded with *gar*. The royal name, it will be noticed, terminates in *-m* like Âgam on the Egyptian monuments.

The word I have translated "warrior" takes the place of "dirk-bearer" in Bor 1.

2. At the end of the titles we have the picture of a hare accompanied by the knife and the suffix *-s*, as well as the determinative of place, which seems to be attached to this word rather than to that which follows (ID.-*s* "lord"). Were it not for this, I should be tempted to read here the name of Mutallis, for though the knife has the phonetic value of *si* (or *asi*) in J. II, 7, it is the determinative of the word *talis*, and the proper name which follows *amei*, "I (am)," might be explained as meaning "the descendant of Sanda-*-m" or even as "he who belongs to the land of S." Elsewhere, at all events, the suffix-*m*(?)*is* or *-u*(?)*is* denotes "belonging to," more especially "belonging to the land of" (*e.g.*, in And. 1), and in H. I, 3 "the district of Sanda-*-m" is referred to (*Sanda-*-ma-a-na-yas* DET.). When we remember that Tarkhi-gamas was the name of a Hittite city captured by the Vannic king Menuas in the neighbourhood of Malatiyeh, and that the character which denotes Sanda appears to have the value of *gar* in the Aleppo inscription, the question arises whether we should not read Sanda-*-m as Sanda-gam-m. Indeed an adventurous spirit might even read Gur-gum-m and transform the following word into Mar-qas-a-na-s, since has the phonetic value of *gas*. This is made clear by B.M. 4, *a-na-as* S-*-ga-s-na-is* "the S(a)gasian king" (parallel to the Karaburna *Si-na-s-m-a-na-is-s*) and *ga-*-*s*(?) on the Bowl. But *ga* or *ka* is not *qa* (*gha*), and the uniform evidence of the inscriptions (H. V, 1, J. I, 1, Kirsh-oghlu 1, Bab. 1, B.M., and the Izgin Obelisk being the only exceptions) shows that after "I (am)" the order is: (1) proper name, [(2) father's name], (3) territorial titles with determinatives.

J. I. 1. DET. a-me-i Mĕ-ta(?)-a-s Gar-ga-me-si-ya-s-DET.
I (am) *Mitas* (?) *the Carchemishian*

DET. ID.-s DET.-na-ui(?) DET. ya-me-s
of the land of . . . *To the god* *I myself*

A-ra . . . .
the city (?) . . .

2. . . . na-[s]-DET. ID.-n-na-s DET. Khila-mĕ-s
. . . . . *the Sunian* (?) (*and*) *Khilames*

Gar-ga-me-si-ya-s-DET. aba-gali-s ID-DET.-u (?)
the Carchemishian *the high-priest* *have given*

Sarmis-s-A-ra-RA-me-yas-DET.
of the king of the city (?)

3. sun(?)-na-yas-DET. Sar-mĕ-s-s-Ara-m-a-DET.
belonging to the city of the temple, *of the king of the city*(?)

ID. Sar-mis-s-Ara-m-a-DET. sarmi-n-DET.
the images, *of the king of the city* (?) *the royal city.*

1. The name may also be read Mbas or Ambas and compared with Cilician names like Μῶς, Μονίσας, Ἀρα-μόας, Ὀπρά-μωσις, Κιδα-μούασις, or the Pisidian Ναννα-μόας. We may also compare the name of Mapeis at Selindy. If Mitas is the reading, it would be identical with the name of the famous king of the Muskâ or Moschi in the time of Sargon. *Cf.* also the name of Matti of Atuna and Matil of Yakhanu. The name of the country expressed by the ideograph of a house also occurs among the titles of the Malatiyeh king. There was a time therefore when Carchemish was the capital of the kingdom which the Assyrians called Khali the Greater. The Moschi, we are told (Dion. Hal., I, 26, Strab., 549), derived their name from a word signifying a "house"; was Mitas "the Carchemishian" king of the Moschi? As we have already seen, the word for "house" in Hittite was probably *sunna*; it must be noticed, however, that the ideograph expressing the name of the country is differently formed from that which signifies a "temple."

2. The proper name Khilames is written Khila-m-me-s on the Bowl and at Bulgar Maden 2. A similarly formed name is Sandames

on the Kouyunjik seals, written Sanda-da-me-s on No. 5, Sanda-m(e)-s on Nos. 6, 7, 8.*

3. Sarmis-Arameyas might mean "the Aramæan king," but is more probably the equivalent of the Semitic Melkarth. See above, p. 351, note 1. The picture of a god's image is determined by two "word-dividers," which, I suppose, indicate a plural.†

With *sarmi-n* cp. Bab. 3, 6: *sar-mis* and *sar-mis-i* with the determinatives of "place" and "city."

Before leaving this text it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that in line 2 the ideograph of "city" is attached to the phonetic characters *a-ra*, and therefore must have the value of *ara* or *ra*. This explains why it is that in J. III, 4 the bull's head appears to mean "city." In the last line of J. I, after the accusative "Khilames the Carchemishian, the high-priest of the gods of the sanctuary," we have, in the nominative, the word *u*(?)-*ra*( )-*mĕ-s* with the adjective "powerful" in agreement with it. The same word is found in another inscription from Carchemish (Messerschmidt, XV, B 2) written with *me* instead of *mĕ*, and followed by the word "godlike" (the ideograph being the same as at the end of J. II, 5), and the participle *ga-i-s-ga-i-s* "causing to be made" (*gal-li-ya i-yas-i-s-s-i* "a priest of the shrines"; see J. III, 2). *A-u*(?)-*ra-m-a* (perhaps with the suffix NA) again recurs on the Obelisk of Izgin D 8 after "9 cities."

Hamath I, II, III.—

1.	A-me	DET. ta-me-s	Lu(?)-ba(?)-su(?)-n-s	ID.-na-ya-s
	I (am)	*the prince*	*Luba-sunna*(?)	*the lordly*
	I-qa-da-a-na-DET.		ID.	
	of the district of Iqada		*the king;*	

* With Sandames and Khilames compare names like Panammu, Tutammu, Giammu, Pisidian Nanna-moas, Karian Panamyês, to which Prof. Sachau adds Panemou-teichos. On the Kouyunjik seals *Sanda-mes* is an adjective, "(seal) belonging to Sandan."

† That the repetition of an ideograph denoted plurality is clear from a comparison of the different forms of the name of the city over which the Hamathite king ruled: (H. V, 1; IV, 3), (H. V, 4; IV, 3). Here the duplication of the character is plainly equivalent to the determinative of plurality which accompanies it.

2. ID.-a A-ma-[at ?-ti ?]-DET. ID.-ya
of the city *of Hamath* *I have conquered*

ID.-DET.-DET. Na-(n)as-ya ID.
the lands. *I have written* *the inscription*

Mi-ta-a-na-s-DET. DET. Khat-ta-i-s [*var.* II.
being a Mitannian *of the Hittite land.*

Ar-ga-a-na-(n)as-ma-a-DET. DET. Khat-ta-nas ; III.
from Argana *a Hittite*

mâ-s(?)-na-m-a-na-(n)as-DET. DET. Khatta-nas
a Masnamanian(?) (*and*) *Hittite.*]

3. ID-ya î-yas- a ID-ma-a
I have made (*restored*) *in the temple* *what destroyed*

Sanda-*-m-a-na-yas DET.
he of the land of Sanda--m.*

1. *Tames* gives us the phonetic reading of the ideograph "supreme." The word forms the second element in the name of the Khattinian king Tu-tammu as compared with Tu-ates. Igadâ-na, or rather Ighatua-na, must be the genitive after "king." There is a parallel passage in Bor 2, where however the word for "king" or "prince" precedes the local name: . . *nayas a-na-as Khila-gha-n*(*a*) "the lordly, the prince of Cilicia."

2. *Na-yas-ya* would be pronounced *nas-ya* or *an-nas-ya* (?).

For the Hamathite city of Argana see above. Possibly we should translate: "I have written inscriptions in the land of Argana in Hittite." The analogy of the Karaburna text would lead us to infer that Mâsna (?) is rather the name of a king than of a country—"the land of Mâsna." At the same time the second character is doubtful, and may therefore represent the syllable *ta* or *tan* of Matana, Mitanni. Perhaps *masn*(*a*) is "inscription," see above.

3. The ideograph is elsewhere the determinative of authority, and precedes the knife in H. IV, 2, V, 4. Here too it is natural to suppose that the same verb is intended with the signification of "cutting down" and "destroying."

The most natural interpretation of *iyas-ta* would seem to be: "this temple"; but apart from the fact that the demonstrative

precedes the noun, it is excluded by the Bowl inscription, where *ta* must have either a locative or a dative meaning.

In place of the patronymic at the end of the text we have in II the name of a country written *Na*(?)-ID.-*qa-s*. The ideograph is of unknown phonetic value, and *qas* may be a suffix as in the *Sandaya-qas* of the Agrak inscription. The ideograph is found in J. III, 3 and 5 (where it seems to be the name of a deity).*

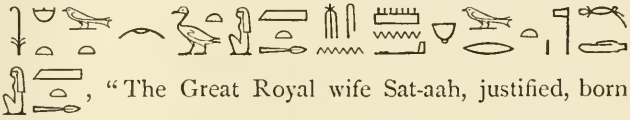
* The form *Sanda-*-ma-na-yas* is the same as that of *Sanda-n-yas* (B.M. I), "belonging to the city of Sandas."

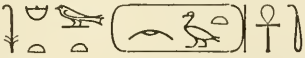
(*To be continued.*)

EXTRACTS FROM MY NOTEBOOKS.

VII.

By Percy E. Newberry.

48. Sat-aah, Queen of Thotmes III.—In his *History of Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 99. Prof. Petrie gives the names of two queens of Thotmes III, namely Merŷt-Ra-Hatshepsut and Nebt-u, but since that volume was printed the tomb of Thotmes III has been discovered, and in it has been found a scene and inscriptions recording a third queen, by name Sat-aah (*Bull. de l'Inst. Égyptien*, 3rd Series, No. 9, Pl. VI). She appears to have been the first wife of Thotmes III, and that she predeceased him is shown by her being described in his tomb as , whereas Merŷt-Ra survived him, as she is called . Both queens bear the title of , "the Great Royal Wife," but Merŷt-Ra can only have assumed this title on the decease of Sat-aah. The parentage of Sat-aah is recorded on a limestone table of offerings in the Cairo Museum;  , "The Great Royal wife Sat-aah, justified, born of the Great Nurse, the *neter shed*, Apu, justified." Besides these notices in the tomb of her husband and on the limestone table of offerings, she is mentioned on the following monuments:—

(*a*) Limestone bas-relief at Karnak found by M. Legrain in 1898. Here the  is represented standing in front of Thotmes III (*Bull. de l'Inst. Égyptien*, 3rd Series, No. 9, p. 96, Pl. VII).

(*b*) Fragment of limestone (Mar., *Abydos*, II, Pl. 40*c*).

(*c*) Scarab. (*Petrie Collection.*)

(*d*) Limestone block (now destroyed?) seen by Wilkinson in 1827 at Karnak (*Materia Hieroglyphica*, Pt. II, p. 109, publ. 1828).

49. The Queen of Kha-nefer-Ra Sebek-hetep III.—On a fragment of an ebony box in the Cairo Museum is an inscription which gives the otherwise unrecorded name of Kha-nefer-Ra's Queen [1] Za-n . . . . . , and the half-destroyed name of a Prince, which can only be restored [ ], Amen-hetep. So far as I am aware this is the earliest instance of the name of Amen-hetep occurring among the members of the Egyptian royal family. The inscription on this little piece of wood reads:

50. A Prince Amenhetep of the Seventeenth Dynasty.—Another early prince of the name Amenhetep is recorded on a small limestone stela in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney (Pl. I, fig. 1). This stela was found in the Drah abu'l Negga in 1900, and was then purchased from a Kurneh dealer. It commorates a "Royal prince," Amen-hetep; a princess, presumably his sister, named Nefert-bu; and the ? "brother of [his?] mother" [*i.e.*, the prince's maternal uncle], Ankh-ren. The figures and hieroglyphs are roughly incised, and the work is too poor to admit of our placing it later than Aahmes I. On the other hand, the style of the figures does not allow of its being placed as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty, nor for the same reason can the stela be dated to the Sebek-em-sau-ef group of kings. Consequently the only period to which it can be assigned is that just before the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Prince Amenhetep, therefore, must have been a son of one of the Seventeenth Dynasty Theban kings. For the drawing of this stela I am indebted to Mr. W. Cecil.

51. Queen Nebt-nehat.—I purchased this year from a Luxor dealer two fragments of an alabaster Canopic jar[2] (Pl. II, fig. 1),

[1] This name should perhaps be restored , Za-nu-ni, a woman's name, which occurs on a stele of the Intermediate Period in the Museum at Turin.

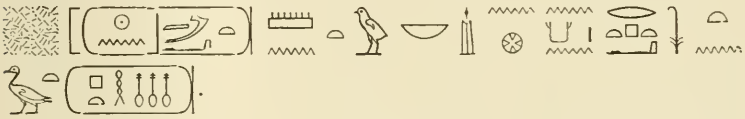
[2] Now in Lord Amherst's Collection.

1.
STELE OF PRINCE AMENHETEP.

2.
LINTEL OF A DOORWAY AT ERMENT.

naming an , "Hereditary princess and Great Royal wife, Nebt-nehat." Unfortunately we have not as yet any means of ascertaining her date, but it is perhaps worth while putting this new queen on record.

52. Princess Ptah-neferu.—Prof. Petrie found in the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Hawara an alabaster altar and several broken pieces of dishes, inscribed with the name of the Princess Ptah-neferu (Petrie, *Kahun*, pp. 12–17, Pls. II–V), who was certainly a daughter of Amenemhat III. In M. Daressy's *Textes et Dessins Magiques*,[3] p. 47, is published a magical baton from Licht bearing the same name. This year I noticed in the shop of a Luxor dealer a headless sphinx of black granite with a dedication inscription to Amenemhat III, also naming the princess. The inscription incised on the chest and between the front legs of the sphinx runs:—



53. Princess Thaa.—I purchased this year at Luxor a fragment of a Canopic jar,[4] on which is engraved the name of a , "Princess" , "Thaa" (Pl. II, fig. 2). It would be tempting to identify her with the Queen-mother of Thotmes IV, but had she been this queen it is certain that the higher titles and , "Royal Wife" and "Royal Mother," would have appeared on the Canopic jars. We may, however, safely identify her with the whose name occurs in the tomb of the Chancellor of Thotmes IV in the Gebel Sheikh abd El Kurneh at Thebes. The name of the same princess is found again on a wooden label in the Edinburgh Museum.[5] She

[3] In *Catalogue du Musée du Caire*, No. 9438; *cf.* Gautier and Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, in *M.A.F.*, VI, p. 60, fig. 68.

[4] Now in the Amherst Collection.

[5] This and several other similar labels were found by Rhind at Thebes, and they have usually been attributed to the reign of Thotmes III (Petrie's *Hist.*, II, pp. 143–5); this is due to a misreading of the cartouche in place of : the plural sign, however, is quite legible after the *kheper*.

is here called the , "Royal daughter Thâàa of Thotmes IV, of the house of the Royal children." The names of her "retinue" ( ) are given on this label, and as the , "Embalmer Nefer-renpet" is the last one on the list, we may presume that this was the princess's "mummy label."

54. The Princess Amenemapet.—The name of another daughter of Thotmes IV is recorded on a wooden label that I purchased at Thebes in 1901, and which is now in Lord Amherst's Collection (Pl. II, fig. 3). The inscription runs:— , "The Royal Daughter Amenemapet." That this princess belonged to the family of Thotmes IV is clear from her portrait occurring in the tomb of his Royal Scribe, Horemheb, at Thebes. Here she is represented seated on the knee of her tutor.[6]

55. The Vezîr Ŷ-meru.—In the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre[7] there is a statue, slightly under life size, of red crystalline sandstone, from Gebel Ahmar, of a , "Governor of the (Royal) City and Vezîr," named , Nefer-ka-Ra Ŷ-meru. The figure is shown standing, and is represented clad in the long vezîrial robe. The inscription upon the plinth at the back of the statue, and two horizontal lines of hieroglyphs across its chest, have been published by Mariette in his *Karnak*, Pl. VIII, r., and again by Pierret in the *Mélanges d'arch. ég.*, III, 63. It records that the statue was made by favour of the King for the Vezîr Ŷ-meru, when the opening of the great tank was celebrated (the work of which he had supervised) in the temple of King Sebek-hetep. A statuette of the same personage has recently been added to the Turin Museum (No. 1220). It is of black granite, and shows Ŷ-meru standing, with his arms at his sides, and his left leg thrust

[6] The scene is published in *M.A.F.*, tome V, p. 434.
[7] It is from the Maurier Collection made at Luxor.

forward. He is shown wearing the vezîrial robe, down the front of which is incised a vertical line of hieroglyphs reading :—

This inscription, it will be seen, records that the Vezîr Ŷ-meru was a son of the Vezîr Ankhu, whom we already know from the Bulac Papyrus No. 18, and from his cylinder seal, a description of which I published some years ago in the pages of these *Proceedings* (Feb., 1900. "Extracts, etc." Note 10).

56. The Daisy in Egyptian Art.—I gave in these pages, some three years ago,[8] the identification of several flower and fruit forms that occur among the faïence "necklace-pendants" (Pl. II, fig. 4) from the palaces of Amenhetep III and Akhenaten, at Thebes and Tell-el-Amarna. The flower-forms that I identified were the poppy and the cornflower, and, among the fruit-forms, the persea. Another flower-form often met with during the Amenhetep III and Akhenaten periods is the daisy. Sometimes these flowers are white with yellow centres, but more often they are coloured light blue with dark blue centres, and occasionally dark blue with light blue centres. In these two latter cases the colours are conventional, but in the former the colouring is true to nature. From the flowers alone it would be impossible to identify even the genus to which the original of these little daisies belonged, but Prof. Petrie possesses a faïence tile[9] from Tell-el-Amarna (Pl. II, fig. 4) in which some of these flowers are inlaid. The background of the tile is coloured green, and shows the stems and foliage of the daisy plant.[10] From this tile it is seen that the plant was a low growing one with finely divided alternate leaves, showing that it must have been a species of *Anthemis*. There are many species of *Anthemis* found in Egypt,[11] but it is of course impossible to identify precisely which one of them the ancient artist intended to represent.

57. Some Miscellaneous Antiquities :—

(*a*) Wooden head-rest, inscribed :—

[8] *Proceedings*, XXII, pp. 142–146.

[9] H. Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art*, Pl. I, fig. 2, and *Nineteenth Century*, Feb., 1900, p. 320.

[10] The cornflower, coloured blue, is also figured on this tile.

[11] *See* Hooker and Jackson, "*Index Kewensis*," fasc. I, pp. 144–146.

, "the Overseer of the Gardeners of Kha-em-maat, Daâa." Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty. [*Luxor.*]

(*b*) Broken statuette of the , "Vezîr Horâ." *Luxor.* Hora was Vezîr of Thebes under Rameses II.

(*c*) Part of a statuette group in granite of , "the High Priest of Amen," , "Bak-en-khensu." Luxor. This Bak-en-khensu was the celebrated High Priest of Amen in the time of Rameses II. (For his life, see my biography of him in Benson and Gourlay's *Temple of Mut*, pp. 343–347, and my note in these *Proceedings*, 1901, May, p. 222.)

(*d*) Cylinder-seal of Usertsen , "Beloved of Sebek, Lord of Sek-she (?)." This locality appears to be otherwise unrecorded. [*Murch Collection.*] *Luxor.*

(*e*) Circular bead in glazed steatite of the , "Great Royal Wife, *khnemt-nefer-hez*, Nefret-ari." [*Bought in Cairo.*]

(*f*) Upper half of a large Amethyst scarab of the , "High Priest of Amen and Osiris, Neb-ua." Neb-ua lived under Thotmes III. Bought in Cairo. [*Amherst Collection.*]

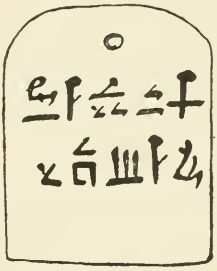
(*g*) Circular bead in blue-glazed faïence, inscribed with the name and titles of the Vezîr Paser. [*Piers Collection, New York.*] This is the third bead bearing the name of Paser known (see my note in the *Proceedings*, 1902, p. 249).

(*h*) Circular bead in greenish-blue glazed faïence, inscribed with the name of the , 'The Royal daughter, Erdet-nes," a princess of the Thirteenth Dynasty. [*Piers Collection, New York.*]

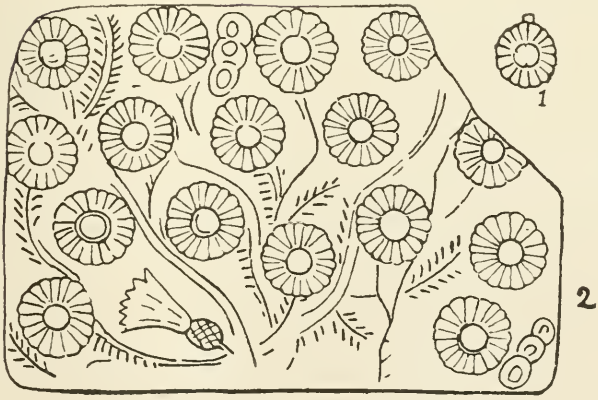
(*i*) Limestone lintel from the doorway of a building of Neb-kheru-Ra Mentu-hetep at Erment. In the possession of Mr. Jaye. (Pl. I, fig. 2.)

1.
CANOPIC JAR OF PRINCESS NEBT-NEHAT.

2.
CANOPIC JAR OF PRINCESS THAA.



3.
LABEL OF AMENEMAPET, DAUGHTER OF THOTMES IV.



4.
1. DAISY PENDANT.
2. DAISY-PATTERN TILE IN PROF. PETRIE'S COLLECTION.

THE TRANSLITERATION OF EGYPTIAN.

Letter of Professor Dr. Eugene Revillout.

(*Continued from page* 333.)

En ce qui concerne les systèmes de transcriptions proposés par les Égyptologues modernes, je dois dire que je m'arrête à celui de mon illustre maître, M. de Rougé, qui ne différe, du reste, pas sensiblement de celui de Lepsius.

Je crois, en effet :—

1°. Que c'est un grand tort d'employer des lettres doubles pour des lettres qui ne sont pas doubles, ou plutôt encore qui n'ont pas été considérées comme doubles par les Égyptiens.

Je dis, considerées comme doubles.

En effet, les papyrus à transcriptions grecques d'époque romaine nous prouvent que les lettres grecques χ ψ ξ θ φ étaient considérées en Égyptien comme des lettres doubles. Dans ces papyrus χ correspond à , ψ à , ξ à , θ à , φ à . Il en est, du reste, de même en Copte thébain, où jamais ces lettres n'interviennent que, soit dans les mots grecs, soit comme lettres doubles pour les mots Égyptiens.

C'est ainsi que, quand l'article ⲡ = précéde un mot commençant par un ϩ, la réunion des deux lettres donnera ⲫ, quand l'article ⲧ = précéde un mot commençant par un ϩ, la réunion des deux lettres donnera ⲟ.[1] De même Ptolémaïs s'écrira ⲯⲟⲓ pour ⲡ-ϩⲟⲓ, etc. Seul le Memphitique, qui, bien que représentant souvent

[1] Quand l'articie ⲡ ou l'article ⲧ précéde une consonne double, c'est-à-dire une de celles précédemment nommées ou bien deux consonnes Égyptiennes sans *sheva* devant faire une seule émission de voix, l'article prend un ⲉ ou, si l'on préfère, reprend, sous une forme adoucie, l'ancien de et de .

pour les mots Égyptiens une ancienne forme de la langue antique, ne s'est pourtant écrit que *postérieurement à la conquête Arabe*, seul le Memphitique, dis-je, s'inspirant des traditions néo-grecques, fait de *φ* et de *θ* des lettres simples, comme on le voit pour l'emploi de ses articles.[1]

2°. Je crois aussi, qu'il ne faut pas, comme on l'a fait parfois, prendre le *g*, le *ĉ*, le *θ*, pour traduire quelques unes des lettres Égyptiennes. En effet, d'une part, ce que nous venons de dire du *θ* suffit pour faire classer cette lettre à côté de nos lettres doubles *kh*, etc., et, d'une autre part, (je dois noter que Le Page Renouf a parfaitement reconnu ce fait dans sa "phonologie" parue dans les Mémoires de notre Société,) le *g* et le *d*, représentant les lettres grecques *gamma* et *delta* et les lettres sémitiques *gimel* et *daleth*, étaient complètement étrangers à l'Égyptien de toutes les périodes.

En Copte, ils ne se trouvent que dans les mots grecs. J'excepterai seulement pour le ⲅ la 2ᵉ personne du subjonctif ou du temps négatif; double cas dans lequel le ⲕ, marque de cette 2ᵉ personne, devait être précéde d'un ⲛ. Le *nu* en effet adoucissait sa prononciation et en faisait un Γ. C'est par le même procédé qu'en hieroglyphes, aussi bien qu'en démotique, pour rendre le *d* de Darius, de Dacicus, etc., on a eu recours souvent à ou . Les papyrus démotiques à transcriptions grecques font ainsi ordinairement de = Δ et de = Γ. Il faut seulement noter cette observation de Le Page Renouf: "though here, too, in other Egyptian transcriptions the *tenuis* is sometimes simply substituted for the medial consonant. In *mekiste*, for instance, = *μεγιστε*, the *γ* is represented by *k*"—fait qu'on peut remarquer aussi (il le dit même) en hiéroglyphes, pour les noms des empereurs romains *Klautius*, *Tomitian*, *Atrian*.

C'est donc une lourde bevue que de vouloir, pour rendre le imaginer un *g*, pour rendre ou le imaginer un *d*, etc. Jamais ces sons n'ont existé en Égyptien.

Je n'en dirai pas autant pour le Δ, qui me parait bien avoir été un *q*, un *qoph*, lettre qui a existé sous la forme *qoppa* en grec où il n'a plus que la valeur numérale 90. J'ai grande tendance à croire que, justement à cause de cette chute du *qoppa* en grec, on l'a

[1] Le Memphitique fut écrit parceque le patriarche avait, après la conquête, quitté Alexandrie, pour se fixer à Memphis (au Caire).

sacrifié dans les deux dialectes Coptes,[1] pour ne garder que le ⲕ, comme, dans le plus ancien dialecte écrit, en thébain, on a sacrifié l'aspirée forte, le ⲭ, transcrit par un χ, dans les contrats bilingues, pour ne plus garder que l'aspirée faible le ϩ = 𓎛 ou 𓎡.

On sait que le Memphitique a ensuite rétabli la lettre démotique Copte ϯ = 𓎟 sous sa forme démotique.[2]

3°. J'aurais grande tendance à imiter les Coptes, c'est-à-dire, non pas à transcrire, comme Champollion et mon vieil ami Chabas, l'Égyptien en lettres coptes, ce qui semble créer des mots coptes de fantaisie, mais à emprunter au Copte, comme les Coptes ont emprunté au Démotique, les trois lettres ϯ, ϫ, et ϣ.[3] Quant au ϩ il est suffisamment remplacé par notre *h* français. En effet le χ

[1] Le Bashmurique ou Bahirique n'est qu'un patois sans règle fixe et dans lequel on peut seulement remarquer, plus accentuée, l'ancienne tendance Égyptienne consistant à confondre le *l* et le *r*, comme le *a* et le *o* (voir ce que nous avons dit du 𓄿𓂋𓇋).

[2] Dans d'autres travaux j'ai prouvé que la connaissance du démotique a subsisté jusqu'à la conquête Arabe. Cela n'a rien d'étonnant, puisque jusqu'à cette conquête, je l'ai prouvé aussi les payens avec leurs prêtres et certains temples subsistaient également. Ainsi s'explique l'origine de certains alphabets de l'égyptien antique rédigés par les Arabes et que Quatremere avait déjà signalés. Malheureusement, dans les copies successives, ces alphabets sont devenus méconnaissables, ou à peu près ; notons que le ϯ avait déjà été emprunté par les auteurs des transcriptions gnostiques en lettres grecques déjà signalées plus haut. C'est peut être à cette source que Saint Mesrob ou l'un de ses successeurs l'aura emprunté quand on organisa l'alphabet Arménien (voir la note suivante).

[3] Quand les Arméniens quittèrent l'écriture cuneiforme et que St. Mesrob voulut leur donner un alphabet, pour les éloigner de plus en plus, comme on l'avait fait en Égypte pour les Coptes, des traditions du vieux culte, c'est au Copte et par le Copte au démotique qu'on eut recours pour les sons communs aux deux langues, et qui n'existaient pas en grec. Le *huò* (ou Ո) devint ainsi Ֆ c'est-à-dire ϯ = 𓎟 ; le *ge* devint Ջ c'est-à-dire ϫ = 𓎝 ; le 𓎡 = 𓎛 = ϩ se transforme en ϱ, dont la prononciation changea depuis. Peut-être même la lettre ϛ = ϐ, doublon du ϣ = 𓎠𓎠𓎠, que l'on trouve dans les premiers essais Égyptiens de transcriptions en lettres grecques, a-t-il produit les deux formes ϩ (*cia*) et ϩ (*scia*), qui traduisent le *cha* français et le *ch* anglais. Toutes les autres lettres furent prises aussi au grec (y compris l'esprit doux ' qui devint la lettre Յ *hi* représentant le *h* doux 𓎡 = 𓎛 = ϩ, autrefois rendu par la lettre *ce* arménienne) avec quelques transformations qui s'accentuèrent dans la suite. Ne paraît il pas naturel aux Égyptologues de faire comme les Arméniens, surtout quand il s'agit de la prononciation de l'Égyptien.

dont on s'est servi dans les contrats bilingues et les inscriptions grecques[1] pour le ḫ a le désavantage, nous l'avons dit, d'équivaloir, dans les papyrus bilingues à transcriptions aussi bien qu'en Copte. à une lettre double. Quant au *h* pointé de diverses manières, il ne représente rien de bien net au lecteur et ne rend aucunement le ḫ copte et le ח hébreu. D'ailleurs, il me semble qu'on ne devrait se servir des lettres pointées que pour distingeur des sons homophones, tels que 𓄿 = *a*, 𓄿 = *ȧ*, 𓄿 = *ā*. Encore y aurait-il pour ce dernier des réserves à faire comme représentant peut-être un *ain* primitif. Mais comme, à la basse époque du démotique surtout, il se commue facilement avec les deux autres *a* dans les racines les mieux connues, je crois qu'on peut facilement passer là-dessus.

Des distinctions analogues peuvent être établies soit entre le 𓈎, le 𓈎, le 𓈎, soit entre le 𓈎, le 𓈎, et même à la rigueur le 𓈎 (que j'aimerais mieux transcrire *q*), soit entre le 𓈎, et le 𓈎, etc., etc. Ce ne sont que des distinctions graphiques, pour ainsi dire.

Voilà, ce que l'on pourrait dire *in abstracto*. Mais souvent les Égyptologues transcrivent des mots Égyptiens dans des imprimeries qui n'ont pas les caractères coptes et qui ont les caractères grecs. On peut donc pratiquement prendre le χ pour le ḫ, et même, à *la grande rigueur*, conserver les lettres pointées pour le ϫ et le ϯ, ainsi que l'ont fait Lepsius et de Rougé, par ces raisons sans doute.

Nous en arrivons ainsi à maintenir l'ancien système adopté à Londres, en proscrivant, pour notre part, tous les autres.

Celui qui nous semble, du reste, le plus contraire aux principes les plus élémentaires de la philologie, c'est celui qu'on prône maintenant à Berlin. Outre tous les inconvénients déjà signalés par moi, et qui reposent foncièrement sur la supposition gratuite d'un sémitisme erroné, il procéde, en effet, par une foule d'autres suppositions inadmissibles, que j'ai déjà signalées dans ma "lettre"

[1] Je citerai αρποκρατης que toutes les anciennes inscriptions d'Égypte traduisent αρποχρατης, parcequ'il vient de 𓅱𓄿𓅓𓏏𓄿𓂋𓄿𓅱 *harpachrat*, "Horus enfant." C'est ce que j'ai demontré, par une foule d'exemples, au Directeur d'une Revue Scientifique, qui avait corrigé, sous ce rapport, un de mes articles, en me reprochant, dans une lettre, de ne pas avoir reconnu le verbe grec κρατεω. Ma petite dissertation, aussitôt envoyée sur ce point spécial, parut dans le nº de la *Revue*, mais ce ne fut pas sous mon nom.

tant de fois citée. Qu'il me soit permis d'en reproduire seulement une page :

" Pour en finir avec le système d'Erman, nous devons ajouter que, d'après des idées preconcues, s'il supprime l'*a* pour le bras du son , etc., il supplée, au contraire, pour certains mots, les lettres ou syllabes qu'on trouve dans quelques variantes. C'est ainsi que deviendra *sti*, parceque l'*i* est souvent ajouté aux deux consonnes, et que deviendra *iht*, parcequ'on a parfois la variante , etc.

" Il y aurait bien des objections à faire pour ces restitutions ; car il n'est pas démontré du tout qu'une racine ne pouvait pas prendre, selon les cas, diverses formes plus longues ou plus brèves. Dans les langues sémitiques, que M. Erman aime tant, il en est souvent ainsi : et les formes avec ou sans l'*aleph* prosthétique sont fréquentes. Il y aurait donc eu beaucoup moins d'inconvénients à garder alors, pour le mot, sa forme exacte, sans aucune restitution, qu'à écrire. par exemple, *irr* pour *ar*, par l'œil, suivi de son complément phonétique *r*, alors qu'on gardait *ir*, quand l'œil n'avait pas ce complément phonétique.

" Il est vrai que cette notation fréquente du complément phonétique appartient sans doute, comme esprit, à la méthode graphique, qui ne voit dans les transcriptions latines qu'un moyen de rappeler les éléments de l'écriture hiéroglyphique, sans vouloir spécifier en rien la prononciation.

" Mais, en définitive, en sommes nous réduits là ? "

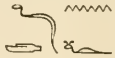
Ce que j'ai dit précédemment suffit pour prouver le contraire.

En résumé, mon opinion est, que, dans tout le débat qui nous est proposé, il ne faut admettre que ce qui est démontré et agir toujours en conséquence.

Nos vieux maîtres, les vrais fondateurs de l'Égyptologie, que, si l'on en excepte Champollion, j'ai tous si bien connus et tant aimés, ont donc eu raison.

Extract from letter of M. Victor Loret.

Professor of Egyptology in the University of Lyons.

Je n'ai jamais, je l'avoue, attaché une bien grande importance théorique à la question de transcription de l'égyptien. A qui et à quoi sert une transcription? Aux égyptologues? Evidemment non. Quel besoin avons-nous de transcrire  pour le traduire par "il a dit"? Tout au plus une transcription peut-elle être utile pour les commençants, afin de leur permettre de se retrouver au milieu de quelques groupes difficiles, et, dans ce cas, toutes les transcriptions se valent du moment que les intéressés s'y reconnaissent. Est-ce aux non-égyptologues que peut servir une transcription? S'ils ne sont pas linguistes, la chose les laisse bien indifférents. S'ils s'occupent de linguistique et veulent faire quelque comparaison avec l'égyptien, rien de plus simple pour eux que d'ouvrir une grammaire et d'apprendre la valeur des vingt lettres qui constituent l'alphabet égyptien. Celui qui voudrait utiliser l'égyptien en vue de quelque recherche linguistique et qui reculerait devant la nécessité d'étudier tant soit peu la phonétique de cette langue, serait indigne de s'occuper de science. En somme, la seule utilité réelle que je reconnaisse à la transcription est d'économiser ou d'éviter l'emploi de signes hiéroglyphiques en imprimerie. Je considère donc comme la meilleure transcription celle qui peut s'imprimer dans le plus grand nombre possible d'imprimeries. C'est pourquoi, dans mon *Manuel de la langue égyptienne*, je n'ai employé avec intention, pour rendre les sons égyptiens, que des caractères que l'on trouve partout. Du moment qu'il ne s'agit que de distinguer trois A, qu'importe qu'on les transcrive *a-à-ā* ou *a-à-â*? La transcription *a-à-ā* écarte neuf imprimeries sur dix, sans me paraître bien supérieure à la transcription *a-à-â*, que peut exécuter le moindre typographe.

La question de savoir si l'égyptien est une langue sémitique et possède des voyelles est bien autrement importante. A mon avis, la langue égyptienne est plus sémitique qu'on le croit généralement, mais je ne pense pas qu'elle soit exclusivement et complètement sémitique. J'admets que les Horiens, qui ont fondé la monarchie égyptienne, sont venus d'Arabie et ont importé avec eux en Egypte un dialecte sémitique qui a laissé de nombreuses traces dans la grammaire et dans le lexique égyptien. Mais je ne puis m'empêcher

d'admettre en même temps que les riverains du Nil qu'ont subjugués ces Horiens parlaient une langue à eux propre, peut-être libyenne, peut-être nubienne, peut-être les deux à la fois, et que cette langue a laissé, elle aussi, de nombreuses traces en égyptien. Dans quelles proportions les deux langues, sémitique et libyco-nubienne, se sont mélangées pour former l'égyptien, c'est ce qu'il sera peut-être difficile de dire avant longtemps, mais je suis convaincu que l'égyptien est une langue composée, comme l'anglais par exemple, et non une langue homogène.

Cela dit, la question des voyelles me semble perdre beaucoup de son intérêt. L'égyptien ne sera pas plus sémitique parce qu'on rendra 𓅱 par *w*, qu'il le sera moins parce qu'on rendra 𓅱 par *ou*. Transcrivez وادى par *Wâdy* ou par *Ouadi*, la chose est de peu de conséquence touchant la nature de la langue arabe.

M. K. Sethe (*Proceedings*, XXIV, 356) a apporté, pour prouver la valeur consonantique de lettres que d'autres regardent comme des voyelles, des arguments qui ne manquent pas d'une grande force. Le mot 𓅱𓄿𓅱𓏲𓏲𓅱𓏲𓏲𓅱𓏲𓏲

se lit *haus* (ϩⲱⲥ, *filum*) et non *hsau*,

se lit *anup* (Ἀνουβ-ις) et non *anpu*,

se lit *shaus* (ϣⲱϣ, *bubalus*) et non *shsau*.

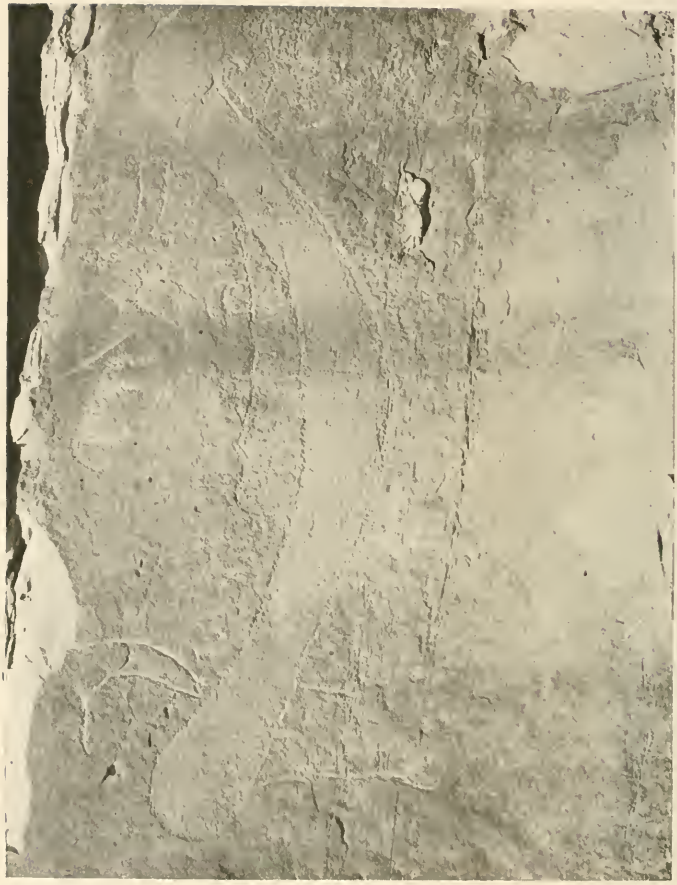
Appliquons maintenant ces deux lois au mot . Voulant rendre les nuances grammaticales répondant aux formes coptes ⲱⲡ et ⲓⲡ, l'égyptien se servira des orthographes et , à lire *aup* (ⲱⲡ) et *aip* (ⲓⲡ), et pourra même, dans les deux cas en sous-entendant la voyelle interne, écrire simplement .

En résulte-t-il que soit une consonne? Non, bien certainement. Les groupements et deviennent des diphtongues prononcées *ô* (ⲱ) et *î* (ⲓ), comme *au* et *ai* en français.

Je ne considère donc pas qu'il soit encore démontré inéluctablement que la lettre et ses congénères soient des consonnes et non des voyelles.

Cela n'empêche en rien, d'ailleurs, l'égyptien d'être une langue très fortement teintée de sémitisme, et ce ne sont pas telles ou telles transcriptions qui y changeront quelque chose. Je crois, pour conclure, que le mieux est de laisser chacun transcrire l'égyptien à sa guise, ou même ne pas le transcrire du tout, la chose étant d'importance tout-à-fait secondaire

Lyon, 23 *Juin*, 1903.



PREHISTORIC DRAWING OF A BOAT AT EL-KAB.

NOTES.

PREHISTORIC DRAWINGS AT EL-KAB.

An Archaic Shrine.

The photograph reproduced shows a drawing roughly hammered on the north face of the isolated and much quarried hill which stands in the middle of the wadi near the temple of Amenophis III. It represents an archaic wooden shrine similar to those represented on the mastaba in the Cairo Museum,[1] and also on the clay sealings and wooden plaques from Abydos.[2]

I think that we have here a contemporary drawing of the old temple, which, as Professor Sayce suggests, was swept away by a torrent, leaving nothing behind to mark its site, but pottery, fragments of tables of offerings,[3] and the inscriptions on the neighbouring rocks.

A Prehistoric Boat.

The prehistoric drawings shown (*see* Plate) are situated on a rock or small cliff on the north-western side of the El-Kab valley, about half way between the rock tombs and the Ptolemaic speos; the rock itself faces N.E., so is in shade at noon time, which accounts for the presence of the drawings.

The chief drawing consists of a prehistoric boat with rounded stem and stern, and having cabins on deck. The whole of the hull is represented by a carefully hammered surface, the cabin and awnings, or branches, also are carefully done, but the short rowing

[1] See figure in Erman's *Life in Egypt*, Eng. Ed., p. 280.

[2] *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. IIIA, 5; Pl. XVI, 114–117.

[3] A large unbroken table of offerings is figured in *El-Kab*, Pl. IV, 1. Its original position is marked on the map executed in 1896.

oars, shown on the right of the photograph, are mere scratches, and may have been the work of another hand.

Above and below the boat are numerous animals, which seem, from their horns, to be oxen, but that immediately over the cabins looks like a badly drawn elephant.

The important point to observe is that the rowing oars, which are such a feature in the boats represented on the pottery, seem to have been wanting in the drawing as first executed, thus resembling the boats drawn on the walls of the decorated prehistoric tomb found on the opposite side of the river.

I do not think anyone having seen this example, as well as those at Hierakonpolis, would believe them to be enclosures, as has been suggested.

F. W. Green.

. The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C., on Wednesday, January 13th, 1904, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Dr. Gaster : "A Manuscript Variant of the Decalogue."

INDEX.

A.

	Vol.	Page
Ab-aa, stela dated in the reign of	XXV.	130
Âgam, Hittite name	XXV.	347
Akitisubu, Hittite name	XXV.	306
Amenemapet, daughter of Thothmes IV, wooden label of	XXV.	360
Amenemhat, bead of	XXV.	137
Amenemhat-sebekhetep, inscription of...	XXV.	135
Amenhetep III, a relic of	XXV.	101
,, note on the parentage of	XXV.	294
,, inscription of at el-Kab	XXV.	295
Amenhetep, a prince of the XVIIth dynasty	XXV.	358
Ankh-ren ; his name on a stele...	XXV.	358
Anu, a deity of Erech	XXV.	119
Apameia Cibotus, town in Asia Minor...	XXV.	225
,, ,, built in reign of Antiochus Soter	XXV.	227
,, ,, Noah type on coins of	XXV.	225
Aramaic documents, some Egyptian	XXV.	202, 259, 311
Arma, a Cilician deity	XXV.	308
Aruru, goddess of Ya'ruru	XXV.	119
Asma, or Sima, Hittite goddess	XXV.	305
Assyro-Babylonienne, matériaux pour l'Étude de la Religion ...	XXV.	23
Ast, "Isis" plant, on an Egyptian vase	XXV.	326, 327
Ašurbânipal, chronology of the reign of	XXV.	82
Au-nef, Prince	XXV.	136
Axe-handle, with cartouche of Amenhetep III	XXV.	101

B.

Bak-en-khensu, High Priest of Amen in the time of Rameses II ...	XXV.	362
Bible, some unconventional views on the text of the. Part IV ...	XXV.	15, 90

	Vol.	Page
Biblical Papyrus, a pre-Massoretic	XXV.	34
Boat, a prehistoric, drawing of a, at El-Kab	XXV.	371
Bod 'Aštart, temple inscription of	XXV.	123
,, text of the inscription	XXV.	126
Boissier, A., communications from	XXV.	23, 75
Book of the Dead :—		
Chapter CXLIX (*continued*)	XXV.	11, 67
,, CL	XXV.	70
,, CLI	XXV.	105
,, CLIA *bis*	XXV.	108
,, CLII	XXV.	109
,, CLIIIA	XXV.	167
,, CLIIIB	XXV.	237
,, CLIV	XXV.	239
,, CLV	XXV.	299
,, CLVI	XXV.	300
,, CLVII	XXV.	301
,, CLVIII	XXV.	301
,, CLIX	XXV.	302
,, CLX	XXV.	302
,, CLXI	XXV.	303
,, CLXII	XXV.	339
,, CLXIII	XXV.	342
,, CLXIV	XXV.	344

C.

Cersilochus, T. F. Fl., epitaph of, at Gerasa	XXV.	33
Chariot of Thothmes IV...	XXV.	111
Charm, a bilingual, notes on by Prof. Moritz	XXV.	89
Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the Greek Versions of	XXV.	139
Clemens, C. Valerius, inscription of	XXIV. 328; XXV.	31
Cook, Stanley A., *M.A.*, communications from	XXV.	34
Coptic MS. *d*, 2 in the Bodleian Library	XXV.	319
,, *d*, 3 ,, ,, ...	XXV.	321
,, *g*, 3 ,, ,, ...	XXV.	323
Cowley, A., *M.A.*, communications from	XXV.	202, 259, 311
Crum, W. E., communications from	XXV.	99, 267
Cylinder-seals, belonging to Mr. Rigg...	XXV.	71

Vol. Page

D.

Daáa, "overseer of the gardeners of Kha-em-maat," his name on a head-rest ... ... XXV. 362
Dada, or Hadad, Hittite deity ... ... XXV. 306
Daisy, the, in Egyptian Art ... ... XXV. 361
Daisy-pattern tile, a ... ... XXV. 361
Death, the waters of ... ... XXV. 196
Decalogue, the, and Deuteronomy in Coptic ... ... XXV. 99
Deuteronomy and the Decalogue, in Coptic ... ... XXV. 99
Dioscorus of Alexandria, Coptic texts relating to ... ... XXV. 267

E.

Êa-du, creation of ... ... XXV. 119
Egyptian, transliteration of, errata to Dr. Naville's letter on ... XXV. 102
Erdet-nes, princess, bead of ... ... XXV. 362
Erech, *city* ... ... XXV. 119
Erment, lintel of a doorway from ... ... XXV. 362
Eshmunazar II, sarcophagus of found at Saida ... ... XXV. 123
Extracts from my Note-books, VI ... ... XXV. 130
,, ,, ,, VII ... ... XXV. 357

G.

Galatia, Jews of the Dispersion in Roman ... ... XXV. 225
Gardiner, A. H., communications from ... ... XXV. 334
Gerasa, *city* ... ... XXV. 32
Gilgameš and the hero of the flood ... ... XXV. 113, 195
,, king of Erech ... ... XXV. 118
,, story of his travels in search of the secret of Life and Death ... ... XXV. 121
,, note on ... ... XXV. 266
Green, F. W., communications from ... ... XXV. 215, 371

H.

Hadad, or Dada, Hittite deity; the Resheph of the Aramæans ... XXV. 306
Ha-Mhyt, goddess, figure of ... ... XXV. 112
Hatshepset, bead of ... ... XXV. 137

Vol. Page

Hittite inscriptions, decipherment of the ... XXV. 141, 173, 277, 305, 347
,, ,, translation of the ... ... XXV. 349
,, deities, list of ... ... XXV. 307
,, names in Egyptian inscriptions... ... ... XXV. 309
,, ,, at Abu-Simbel, and at the Ramesseum ... ... XXV. 347
Horâ, vezîr, statuette of ... ... XXV. 362
Howorth, Sir H. H., *K.C.I.E.*, communications from ... ... XXV. 15, 90
Humbaba, killed by Gilgameš ... ... XXV. 120

I.

Inscriptions relating to the Jewish war of Vespasian and Titus ... XXV. 31
Iskhar, Hittite goddess, borrowed from Babylonia ... ... XXV. 305
Ištar, goddess of Erech ... ... XXV. 120

J.

Jews of the dispersion, in Roman Galatia ... ... XXV. 250
Johns, Rev. C. H. W., communications from ... ... XXV, 82, 325
Joseph, the Egyptian name of ... ... XXV. 157

K.

el-Kab, prehistoric drawings at... ... ... XXV. 371
,, an inscription at ... ... XXV. 215
,, ,, note on ... ... XXV. 249
Kha-ankh-ra Sebekhetep, a monument of ... ... XXV. 136
Khunes, stele of ... ... XXV. 135
Krall, Prof. Dr. Jacob, communications from ... ... XXV. 209
Krauss, Dr. S., communications from ... ... XXV. 222

L.

Library, donations to the ... XXV. 1, 2, 65, 66, 104, 166, 236, 298, 338
Lieblein, Prof. Dr. J., communications from ... ... XXV. 162
Loret, Prof. Victor, communications from ... ... XXV. 368
Lupus, Tiberius Julius, inscription of ... ... XXV. 33

M.

Macer, Flavius, epitaph of, at Gerasa ... ... XXV. 33
Mâšu, mount, visited by Gilgameš ... ... XXV. 121

Vol. Page

Members, election of ... ... XXV. 2, 66, 104, 166, 236, 298
,, deceased, notices of:—
Anderson, Rev. J., *D.D.* ... ... XXV. 103
Pleyte, Dr. W. ... ... XXV. 165
Mrs. Burton-Alexander ... ... XXV. 235
Ernst de Bunsen ... ... XXV. 235
Kinns, Rev. S., *Ph.D.* ... ... XXV. 297
Peckover, Miss S. ... ... XXV. 297
Nicholson, Sir C., *Bart.*, *D.C.L.* ... ... XXV. 297
Haywood, W. J. ... ... XXV. 297
Merŷt-Ra, queen of Thotmes III ... ... XXV, 357

N.

Nash, W. L., *F.S.A.*, communications from ... ... XXV. 101, 112
Naville, Prof. E., *D.C.L.*, communications from
XXV. 11, 57, 67, 105, 157, 167, 235, 299, 339
Neb-amen, his name on a box lid ... ... XXV. 137
Neb-ḥeḥ, "Lord of Eternity" plant, on an Egyptian vase ... XXV. 326, 327
Neb-kheru-Ra Mentu-hetep, his name on a lintel of a doorway, from Erment ... ... XXV. 362
Neb-mu, "Lord of Water" plant, on an Egyptian vase ... XXV. 326, 327
Nebt-nehat, queen, canopic jar of ... ... XXV. 358
Neb-ua, High Priest of Amen and Osiris, scarab of ... ... XXV. 362
Nefert-bu; her name on a stele ... ... XXV. 358
Nestle, Dr. E., communications from ... ... XXV. 63
Newberry, Percy E., communications from ... XXV. 111, 130, 217, 294, 357
Nuseneb, ring-stand of ... ... XXV. 135

O.

Offord, J., communications from ... ... XXV. 31
Oils, some Egyptian names of ... ... XXV. 328
"Overseers of the Vintners of the temple of the Aten," mentioned on wine-jar inscriptions from Tell el Amarna ... ... XXV. 138

P.

Papyrus, an Aramaic, from Elephantine ... ... XXV. 205
Pilcher, E. J., communications from ... ... XXV. 123, 225, 260
Pinches, T., *LL.D.*, communications from ... ... XXV. 71, 113, 195
Plants, Egyptian names of, derived from popular mythology ... XXV. 327

Vol. Page

Postumus, Præfect of Egypt ... ... XXV. 222
Preposition , meaning of the ... ... XXV. 334
Price, F. G. H., *Dir.S.A.*, communications from ... ... XXV. 326
Ptah-neferu, princess, inscription of ... ... XXV. 359

Q.

el Qa'adeh, seal found at ... ... XXV. 33

R.

Religion Assyro-Babylonienne, matériaux pour l'étude de la ... XXV. 75
Rêmut-Bêlti, mother of Gilgameš ... ... XXV. 120
Revillout, Prof. Dr. E., communications from ... XXV. 243, 288, 329, 363
Ring-stand of Nuseneb ... ... XXV. 135

S.

Sa-ast, "amulet of Isis" on an Egyptian vase—a plant-name XXV. 326, 327
Sada-halis, Hittite king ... ... XXV. 306
Sahidic Biblical fragments, in the Bodleian library ... ... XXV. 317
Sa-Hathor, the family of ... ... XXV. 133
,, the friends of ... ... XXV. 133
,, his title "*uartu* of the Ruler's table" ... ... XXV. 134
Samsu-iluna, the year-names of... ... ... XXV. 325
Sandan, god of Tarsus ... ... XXV. 305, 308
,, represented on the coins of Tarsus ... ... XXV. 305
Sat-Aah, queen of Thotmes IV, monuments of ... ... XXV. 357
Sayce, Prof. A. H., *LL.D.*, *&c.*, communications from
XXV. 62, 173, 249, 266, 277, 305, 315, 347
Seal-cylinder, a, from Homs ... ... XXV. 62
Sebekhetep III, a cup of ... ... XXV. 134
Secretary's Report, 1902 ... ... XXV. 3
Sekhemet statues, the, of the Temple of Mut at Karnak ... ... XXV. 217
Septuagint rendering, the, of 2 Kings xix, 26... ... ... XXV. 63
,, ,, ,, ,, contains a reference to
the Egyptian "shadûf" XXV. 63
Shems, "ear of corn," on an Egyptian vase ... ... XXV. 326, 327
Shrine, an archaic, drawing of at el-Kab ... ... XXV. 371
Siduri, goddess ... ... XXV. 195

	Vol.	Page
Sima, or Asma, Hittite goddess	XXV.	305
Sur-Sunabu	XXV.	195

T.

Tabnith, king, his sarcophagus found at Saida	XXV.	123
Tadal, Hittite name	XXV.	347
Tal-tisubu, Hittite name	XXV.	306
Targa-tazis, Hittite name	XXV.	347
Tell el Amarna, wine-jar inscriptions from	XXV.	137
Tessub, the Hadad of Mitanni	XXV.	306
Thaa, princess, canopic jar of	XXV.	359
Theḥen-en-ḥeḥ, "Bronze of Eternity" plant, on an Egyptian vase	XXV.	326, 327
Thisupu, the same as Tessub	XXV.	306
Thotmes IV, discovery of tomb of	XXV.	111
,, foundation deposits in tomb of	XXV.	111
,, part of chariot of, found in his tomb	XXV.	111
,, hieratic inscription in tomb of	XXV.	111
Ti, "Hand" plant, on an Egyptian vase	XXV.	326, 327
Tidal, Hittite name	XXV.	347
Torrey, Prof. C. C., communications from	XXV.	139
Transliteration, the, of Egyptian, letter from Prof. Naville	XXV.	57
,, ,, ,, letter from Prof. Dr. J. Lieblein ..	XXV.	162
,, ,, ,, letter from Dr. Jacob Krall ...	XXV.	209
,, ,, ,, letter from Dr. A. Wiedemann ...	XXV.	212
,, ,, ,, letter from Prof. Dr. E. Revillout	XXV.	288, 329, 363
,, ,, ,, letter from Prof. Victor Loret ...	XXV.	368

U.

"*Uartu* of the Ruler's table," a military title...	XXV.	134
Usertsen I, steatite bead of	XXV.	137
Usertsen, cylinder-seal of	XXV.	362
Ut-napištim, visit of Gilgameš to	XXV.	121

V.

Vases, a set of seven for unguents or perfumes; belonging to F. G. H. Price, *Dir.S.A.*	XXV.	326
Vautour, le, et la chatte, procès de, devant le soleil	XXV.	243
Vespasian and Titus, the Jewish war of ,, ...	XXV.	31

	Vol.	Page
W.		
Wiedemann, Prof. Dr. A., communications from	XXV.	212
Y.		
Ya'ruru, *city*	XXV.	119
Ŷ-meru, vezîr, statue of	XXV.	360
Z.		
Za-n; queen of Kha-nefer-Ra, Sebekhetep III	XXV.	358
Zaŷ, his name on a wine-jar inscription	XXV.	138
Zeuxis, Satrap of Lydia in 201 B.C.	XXV.	228

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